DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 379 561 CG 026 037

TITLE	Perspectives on Violence and Substance Use in Rural America.
INSTITUTION	Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities, Oak Brook, IL.; North Central Regional Educational Lab., Oak Brook, IL.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO	P94-001-PVS
PUB DATE	[94]
CONTRACT	RP91002007
NOTE	159p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Publications Dept., North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, 1900 Spring Road, Oak Brook, IL 60521 ($9.95).
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Crime; Crime Prevention; Drinking; Drug Abuse; *Drug Use; Intervention; Prevention; *Rural Areas; Rural Environment; Rural Population; Rural Schools; *Substance Abuse; Tobacco; *Violence
IDENTIFIERS	United States

ABSTRACT

Although violence and substance use are usually considered urban problems, rates of violence and substance use in rural areas are catching up to urban rates. This collection of six articles explores violence and substance use in rural America, the relationship between the two, the factors contributing to these problems, and effective preventive and intervention measures. The monograph dispels myths about rural communities; the chapters represent a variety of viewpoints and methodologies, but the fundamental premise of the book is that stereotypes about rural living are inaccurate. Before action can be taken to address problems in rural violence and drug use, misconceptions about rural areas must be overcome. The articles cover a variety of relevant issues: "Violence and Substance Abuse in Rural America" (John Blaser); "The Rural Context for Education: Adjusting the Images" (Daryl Hobbs); "Crime and Violence in Rural Communities" (Joseph F. Donnermeyer); "Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use by Youth in Rural Communities" (Ruth W. Edwards); "A Community Comparison of 'Gang' Prevention Strategies" (Susan R. Takata); and "The Context of Rising Rates of Rural Violence and Substance Abuse: The Problems and Potential of Rural Communities" (Daryl Hobbs). Contains an annotated bibliography on school safety. (RJM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 379 561

SCOPE OF INTEREST NOTICE
The Eric Facility has assigned this document for processing to: CG
In our judgment, this document is also of interest to the Clearinghouses noted to the right. Indexing should reflect their special points of view. RC

Perspectives on Violence and Substance Use in Rural America

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
M. KROEGER
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CG026037

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

published by the Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities and the North Central Regional Educational Laboratory

Jeri Nowakowski, NCREL Executive Director
Maxine Womble, MRC Director
Joseph J. D'Amico, Director of Rural Education
Roger J.D. Chesswas, Associate Director of Evaluation
Gordon Karim, Project Specialist
Stephanie M. Blaser, Editor
John Blaser, Editor
Kasandra Pantoja, Editor
Mary Ann Larson, Desktop Publisher
Melissa Chapko, Cover Design

The Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities (MRC), one of five regional centers in the U.S., provides training and disseminates materials to schools and communities in a ten-state region—Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. MRC is operated by the North Central Regional Educational Laboratory (NCREL).

NCREL is one of ten federally supported educational laboratories in the country. It works with education professionals in a seven-state region of the midwestern United States to support restructuring to promote learning for all students—especially those most at risk of academic failure in rural and urban areas.

This publication was based on work sponsored wholly or in part by the U.S. Department of Education under Cooperative Agreement No. S188A00007. It was produced in whole or in part with funds from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, under Contract No. RP91002007. The content of this publication does not necessarily reflect the views of the Department or any other agency of the U.S. Government.

Order No. P94-001-PVS, $9.95

Table of Contents

Violence and Substance Abuse in Rural America 1
A Foreword by John Blaser

The Rural Context for Education: Adjusting the Images 5
Daryl Hobbs

Crime and Violence in Rural Communities 27
Joseph F. Donnermeyer

Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use by
Youth in Rural Communities 65
Ruth W. Edwards, Ph.D.

A Community Comparison of "Gang" Prevention Strategies 95
Susan R. Takata, Ph.D.

The Context of Rising Rates of Rural Violence and Substance
Abuse: The Problems and Potential of Rural Communities 115
Daryl Hobbs

Appendix
School Safety: An Annotated Bibliography 127

Acknowledgments

This monograph grew out of a regional symposium, "Youth Violence and Substance Use in Small Towns and Rural Areas: Connecting Research and Practice," which took place October 29-30, 1993, at the University of Wisconsin-Platteville.

The symposium was hosted by the Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities (MRC) and the North Central Regional Educational Laboratory (NCREL), in partnership with the University of Wisconsin-Platteville. Symposium participants included key researchers, state legislators, state and regional law enforcement personnel, school administrators and superintendents, and local and state practitioners involved in youth crime and substance use issues.

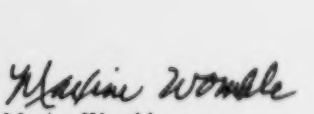
We greatly appreciate the efforts of the professionals who contributed to the success of the symposium. We also would like to express our thanks to the following national experts who participated in the symposium or gave presentations on special topics:

- Alicia Coro, Director, School Improvement Programs, U.S. Department of Education
- Charles Edwards, Dean, College of Education, University of Wisconsin-Platteville
- Robert G. Culbertson, Chancellor, University of Wisconsin-Platteville
- Daryl Hobbs, Director, Office of Social and Economic Data Analysis, University of Missouri System, Lincoln University
- Lawrence Whitman, Associate Director, Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities
- Joseph F. Donnermeyer, Associate Professor, Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, and Director, National Rural Crime Prevention Center, The Ohio State University
- Ruth W. Edwards, Research Scientist, Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research, Colorado State University
- Duane E. Voltmer, Federal Detention Specialist, Missouri Juvenile Justice Association

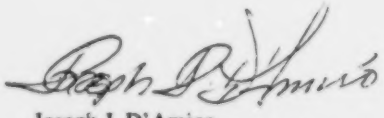
- Susan R. Takata, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Parkside
- N. Ann Lowrance, Director, Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Services, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Lawrence J. Dark, Executive Assistant to the President for Equal Opportunity Programs, and Research Fellow, Institute of Public Affairs, University of South Carolina
- Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-Wis.), 3rd District, Ranking Minority Member, House Education and Labor Committee

Special thanks to the staff who made this symposium and monograph possible:

- Gordon Karim
- Margaret Tinzmann
- Roger Chesswas
- Kelly Brown
- Donna Wagner
- Merrionna Pierce
- Marianne Kroeger
- Stephanie M. Blaser
- John J. Blaser
- Melissa Chapko
- Mary Ann Larson



Maxine Womble
Director, Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities



Joseph J. D'Amico
Director, Rural Education

Violence and Substance Use in Rural America

Foreword

Too often the problems of violence and substance use are perceived to exist only in urban areas, while rural communities are imagined as small, slow-paced towns free of violent crime and protected from gangs and drugs. Yet the researchers who contributed to this monograph found that rates of violence and substance use in rural areas are catching up to rates reported in urban areas, and in some instances have surpassed them. But the stereotype of rural areas persists, and as a result prevention and intervention efforts either ignore rural areas or—when they do reach "the hinterlands"—use models originally developed for an urban context.

The purpose of both the symposium and this monograph is to explore violence and substance use in rural America, the relationship between the two, the factors contributing to these problems, and the most effective approaches to prevention and intervention. Through research and participation in the symposium, the authors set out to dispel the myths about substance use and violence in rural America, to begin creating a research base on this largely unexplored topic, and to suggest approaches to prevention and intervention for rural communities.

While the individual chapters represent a variety of viewpoints and methodologies, the authors agree that overcoming misconceptions about rural areas is necessarily the first step toward reaching these goals. But they also agree that there is cause for optimism. Just as the problems of rural areas are unique, so too are their strengths. The very quality often cited to distinguish rural areas from large city neighborhoods—a sense of community—can and should be used in successful prevention and intervention efforts in rural areas.

A fundamental premise of this monograph is that stereotypes about rural America—like all stereotypes—are inaccurate, corresponding to our perceptions and biases rather than reality. Indeed, even the term *rural America* is problematic, because each rural community in America is unique. Joseph F. Donnermeyer points out that "the first step in exploring rural crime is to recognize that one standard definition of rural will not suffice." Daryl Hobbs agrees, arguing that popular images of rural America mask the great diversity of rural communities:

> Generalizations about rural areas (other than small size of towns and low population density) end with one visit to a particular rural place. Each rural community contributes to a rural average, but none is likely to be "typically" rural.

Perhaps the most persistent image of rural areas, given our current preoccupation with crime, violence, and drug use, is that rural areas offer a safe haven from these problems and that these problems exist only in urban areas. Yet, while the authors agree that rates of violent crime and drug use tend to be lower in rural areas than in cities, they are quick to point out that the gap is closing; that youth gangs have begun to appear in many rural schools and communities; that hate groups such as the Aryan Nation actually originated in rural areas and are spreading to cities; and that rates of substance use and related problems are higher in rural areas than in urban areas for some substances—particularly alcohol. "Suffice it to say that rural-urban differences in usage rates have declined," notes Donnermeyer, "and for some substances the rural population is ahead."

These findings not only challenge the perception that violent crime and substance use are limited to urban areas, but also call into question the belief that all rural violence and substance use originates in nearby cities. Instead, the authors argue that rural areas must look for the root causes of increased violence and substance use in individual rural communities—and it is here that they also must look for the solutions. Reflecting the research of each of the authors, Donnermeyer suggests that these problems are largely the result of recent changes in rural communities themselves:

> While rural crime may suggest the effects of urbanization, it would be incorrect to blame rural crime problems directly on the nearest large city. Rural society is changing. One of the consequences of these changes is that crime levels in rural areas are at historic highs and new problems, such as gangs, delinquency, and drug use by rural youth, have emerged.

Another reason to look for the root causes of violence and substance use within the community itself is that the extent of these problems as well as the causes will be different in each rural community. Again, the authors warn against assuming that all rural communities are the same. Ruth W. Edwards stresses the need for recognizing the differences among rural communities and the problems that they face:

> There is very high variability from one community to another in the degree of drug involvement, what drugs are used most, whether younger or older students are more involved with alcohol and other drugs, and the stability of substance use patterns over time.

Edwards suggests that the variety of problems faced by rural communities requires a variety of solutions. She points out that "rural communities vary considerably, which complicates our understanding of rural substance use

problems and increases the need for prevention, intervention, and treatment programs tailored to individual rural community needs."

According to the authors of this monograph, the diversity of rural communities requires a community development approach to prevention and intervention rather than an individual or psychological approach. The special characteristics of rural communities—particularly the stronger "sense of community" and closer social relationships associated with the small geographic scale of rural areas—indicate that a communitywide approach is ideally suited to the strengths of these small communities. Indeed, while Hobbs sees community change as a root cause of the problems facing rural communities, he also sees it as the most effective approach to solving these problems:

> While there has understandably been a strong individual therapy orientation to substance abuse programs, we have emphasized that community changes may not only be a source of the problem, but that a revitalized community may be an important part of the solution.

Hobbs believes that a small, closely knit community is well-positioned to deal with problems *as a community*. After all, he says, "communities are built on the effective use of their own resources. The most significant of these resources are human: the skills, abilities, and energies of community residents." Even young people, who are often perceived as the source of community problems, can be mobilized to contribute to community development as an approach to prevention and intervention. Hobbs remarks that "a community's youth, with their talent and energy, are a widely overlooked and underused resource." Edwards echoes this belief, asserting that a communitywide approach should involve all community members in addressing the unique problems facing the individual community:

> [E]ach individual community must assess its own problem in order to target the limited resources available. A good, well-implemented, districtwide, basic drug prevention program may show positive outcomes in larger communities, because the program will likely have some elements that affect one or more of the various subgroups across the range of their populations. But rural areas cannot afford simply to take a shotgun approach. . . . The entire community—including students, parents, schools, law enforcement, business people, and others—must understand the full range of substance abuse issues confronting the community.

The need for community development approaches tailored to individual communities suggests a course of action for researchers, universities, prevention agencies, educational organizations, and others interested in rural violence

and substance use. Rural communities facing these issues need partners to provide information and resources; to conduct research into the unique problems, characteristics, and strengths of the individual community; and to assist in developing approaches to prevention, intervention, and treatment.

One such partnership is described in this monograph by Susan R. Takata. Takata and her students at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside worked with community members and public officials to research and respond to the emergence of youth gangs in two small Wisconsin cities. In doing so, they became a powerful community resource for these small cities and formed the type of relationship that this monograph hopes to promote.

Takata's research marks a beginning, but it also highlights the urgent need for further study. Because violent crime and substance use in small cities and rural areas represents a relatively new field of study, even the most basic information about rural violence and substance use has yet to be gathered:

> While we understand some dimensions of group delinquency in large metropolitan areas, we still know very little about the extent and nature of this problem in smaller cities and rural areas. Important details about the nature, history, organizational structure, and activities of small-city delinquent groups are lacking.

Like the other chapters in this monograph, Takata's analysis suggests the need for further research and knowledge building, as well as the active involvement of partners in rural community development. Even as rural communities begin to resemble their urban counterparts in rates of violence and substance use, researchers and partners are hearing a call to respond. As Donnermeyer writes, "If there was ever an opportune moment for prevention programming to work, it is now and it is in America's rural communities."

John Blaser
Editor

The Rural Context for Education: Adjusting the Images

Daryl Hobbs, Director
Office of Social and Economic Data Analysis
University of Missouri System, Lincoln University
Columbia, Missouri

This chapter originally appeared in Education in the Rural American Community: A Lifelong Process *(1992) by Michael W. Galbraith (Ed.). It has been adapted and reprinted here with permission of the author and Krieger Publishing Company.*

Consideration of today's rural communities is hampered by an absence of any clear definition of either *rural* or *community*, or a consensus about what they mean. Both terms are somewhat like beauty; their existence and meaning are in the eye of the beholder. But whether precisely defined or not, both terms are widely used in everyday discussion and both share a capacity to evoke images and emotions. Indeed, these images are being combined by advertisers to portray "the country" as an ethic, idea, and lifestyle. The images of country, as portrayed in the marketing of products from blue jeans to music to suburban housing developments, cast rural communities as an escape from the constraints, pressures, and fast-paced life of the city.

But commercialized images of "the country" vary substantially from the reality of rural America. Advertisers portray rural America as a bastion of hard work, tradition, and simple lifestyles and as a place where people know and care about each other. Rural people are seldom portrayed as wealthy, but nevertheless are thought to be enjoying the good life. According to public opinion polls conducted over the past several years, most Americans—rural and urban—report that they would prefer to live in a rural area or small town if offered a choice (National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 1992).

But the facts about rural areas paint a different picture:

- In 1989, the median family income for metropolitan (urban) areas was $37,933 compared with $27,620 in nonmetropolitan (rural) areas. Urban income is 37 percent greater than rural income and growing more rapidly (Ghelfi et al., 1993).
- The poverty rate in nonmetropolitan areas is 35 percent higher than the rate in metropolitan areas.

- Even though unemployment is 25 percent higher in rural areas than in urban ones, *under*employment is a more serious problem for rural communities.
- About 10 percent of rural counties are classified as "persistent poverty" counties because they remained in the lowest 20 percent in income over the past 40 years.
- "Rural" counties that experience rapid population and income growth are generally close to major metropolitan areas and are becoming more urban than rural in lifestyle and occupation.

Times have blurred what were once clear distinctions between rural and urban America. The extremes (e.g., midtown Manhattan compared with a small ranching town in the Nebraska Sand Hills) are still easy to find and classify as urban or rural, but most Americans now live somewhere between those extremes. Over the past several decades, American society has been transformed into a mass society that is dominated by urban lifestyles, economic activity, and institutions that extend into and engulf the country. Rural people, however they are defined, now watch the same television programs, consume the same products, and work at many of the same jobs as their urban counterparts. Thus, much of what has affected rural Americans originated in and around cities. Indeed, those changes have forced some redefinition of rural and urban. But first a bit of history about the cities to give us a better foundation for understanding today's version of rural.

Because agricultural mechanization reduced the need for farm workers and because the economy and number of jobs have grown disproportionately in the cities, rural Americans have moved in a steady stream throughout this century to urban areas for employment. American cities were literally built on this influx of rural residents. However, the rural-to-urban immigrants did not leave their rural values completely behind. One result was the dramatic growth of suburbs around larger cities, especially following World War II. To a great extent, the suburbs reflect a kind of rural-urban compromise—between the economic necessity of living near better paying jobs and a preference for open spaces and other features of a rural lifestyle. The suburbs quite literally were an invention to combine economic necessity with some rural-based values.

Conversion of Cities to Metropolitan Areas

Beginning with close-in suburbs, urban areas have continued to sprawl and grow outward, making the boundaries of cities less and less distinct. Today, cities are the focal point for metropolitan areas that extend far into the countryside. This continuing sprawl has been energized both by urban people retaining their city jobs and moving to smaller outlying "rural" communities and by small

town and rural people regularly commuting to jobs in the cities. The automobile and the vast infrastructure that supports it have emancipated rural people from the land and released urban people from the city. As improved transportation has reduced distances, a concomitant blending of countryside into town, town into suburb, and suburb into city has given rise to the concept of a rural-urban continuum to replace the rural-urban dichotomy. It has become possible for more people to live in rural areas or small towns and enjoy access to urban jobs and other amenities. Correspondingly, cities have grown out more than up.

In recognition of this urban sprawl, the U.S. Bureau of the Census has developed the term *metropolitan area* along with the technical definition to classify it. Although the definition is detailed and complex, metropolitan counties, simply defined, are those that include a city of 50,000 or more and/or are counties that are near large cities and have a highly urbanized population. Of the 3,067 U.S. counties, 626 (20%) are classified as metropolitan and 2,441 as nonmetropolitan. Together, the metropolitan counties included 79 percent of the U.S. population in 1990; nonmetropolitan counties included 21 percent. All 50 states include at least one metropolitan area, but in New Jersey 100 percent of the population live in a metropolitan area, while in Montana only 24 percent live in such areas (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991).

Metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, St. Louis, and Minneapolis-St. Paul continue to expand horizontally and have become labor and service market regions as large as 100 miles or more in diameter. The St. Louis metropolitan area is illustrative. The officially designated St. Louis standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) includes ten counties—five in Missouri and five in Illinois—with a total population in 1990 of 2.5 million. Movement out from the central city is reflected in St. Louis's city population, which declined from 850,000 in 1950 to about 397,000 in 1990. Only one-sixth of the metropolitan area's population resides in the city that gives the region its name. The ten St. Louis SMSA counties include more than 200 incorporated places, many of which were once smaller rural trade centers that have become "bedroom" towns—that is, places where people live, although their livelihood is in the city.

Urban sprawl is important also because many rapidly growing and higher-income nonmetropolitan counties are within the reach of this sprawl. Indeed, as the sprawl continues, more nonmetropolitan counties at the periphery will be reclassified as metropolitan. For example, as the population continued to grow on the periphery of St. Louis's metropolitan area, two additional counties were added following the 1990 census, increasing the number of counties in the SMSA from 10 to 12. Thus, a part of metropolitan growth and nonmetropolitan decline can be attributed to statistical reclassification.

From Urban-Rural to Metropolitan-Nonmetropolitan

The classification *metropolitan-nonmetropolitan* has nearly replaced *urban-rural* in public policy analysis, legislation, research, and so forth because it is most frequently used for reporting demographic and economic data. Indeed, the term *metropolitan area* has generally replaced *urban* or *city* as a description for large population concentrations. The classification is more than a statistical artifact. For example, in recent years federal legislation has provided for a lower level of reimbursement for Medicare services performed by nonmetropolitan physicians and hospitals than for the same services performed by metro-area physicians and hospitals.

Although the definition of metropolitan is relatively precise, the definition of nonmetropolitan is not. The term nonmetropolitan is a residual; it is what is left over after the metropolitan areas have been taken out. Indeed, the very label indicates that it is whatever *is not* metropolitan. The only consistent basis for differentiation is population density—the basis on which a county is officially defined as metropolitan. The concept of rurality once had significant economic, social, and political associations, but the nonmetropolitan concept that has replaced it is primarily, though perhaps not totally, geographic: one of the still distinctive features of rural areas is the distance that separates the homes of rural people (Gilford, Nelson, & Ingram, 1981). So "nonmetropolitan" is that 21 percent of the population that is less tightly squeezed together than the 79 percent defined as metropolitan. Because of the broad definition, nonmetropolitan areas include cities of just under 50,000 as well as the open country and the smallest villages. The economic span in nonmetropolitan areas also is quite broad, ranging from very high-income resort communities such as Aspen, Colorado, to some of the poorest communities and neighborhoods in the nation.

Traditionally the idea of "community" in rural areas was linked with a town. Indeed, "town" and "community" are often used interchangeably in rural areas. Certainly, nonmetropolitan America has far more towns and places to inspire a sense of community than metropolitan areas. Altogether in 1990, the U.S. had 19,290 incorporated villages, towns, and cities. Only 12 percent of the incorporated areas had a population of more than 10,000; 88 percent had a population of less than 10,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991).

Incorporation of Rural America Into the Mass Society

In order to understand contemporary rural America, it is important to understand how and why rural areas have lost many of their distinctive qualities in recent decades. Until recently, the concept of rurality represented a bundle of closely interrelated economic, social, and political traits. The term "rural" referred to more than a geographic category; it was a way of life, a rural culture.

Rural life was easily understood because it had a bundle of factors that reinforced one another. Today the bundle has come apart, and the various characteristics that once were closely associated with rurality are now almost completely unrelated (Gilford, Nelson, & Ingram, 1981). It is that uncoupling that complicates easy generalizations about rural areas.

Improvements in transportation and communication technology have transformed rural America and have helped incorporate it first into the mass society and more recently into a global economy. National markets have replaced local markets for rural goods and products, and mass merchandizing and franchises have begun to replace local merchants as distributors of goods. Improvements in transportation have improved access to more centralized services. Shopping centers and improvements in communication have exposed rural people to the same information and advertisements as urban dwellers. Not only do rural people watch the same TV programs, read the same newspapers, and rent the same movies as their urban counterparts, but they also purchase the same goods, usually from the same franchise stores found in urban shopping malls. Indeed, because of regionalization of services they often make those purchases in urban shopping malls. What rural people have in common across the country is not so much a distinctive rural lifestyle, but rather consumption of the same goods and exposure to the same media as urban residents. As a result, rural residents have as much or more in common with urban residents as they do with each other.

However, this transformation was not due to market forces and technology alone. It was greatly reinforced by public policies. In recent decades, the goals of rural improvement and development programs and policies have been oriented toward making rural America more like urban America. For example, public policies encouraged school consolidation to make rural schools larger and more like urban schools. Infrastructure investments and training helped to move lower-skill industries from urban to rural areas, which also expedited the concentration of health, retail, and other services in larger rural trade centers.

Incorporation into a mass society has affected rural people beyond their role as consumers of goods and services. Other national trends have affected rural areas as well, with similar effects on lifestyles. For example, rural women across the nation have entered the work force in nearly as great numbers as urban women (Ghelfi et al., 1993). As a result, a demand has been generated for child care, more meals are eaten away from home, and more stress has been placed on rural families. These changes are especially important when you consider that rural workers, especially women, generally work for lower wages than their urban counterparts (Deavers & Hoppe, 1991). Because many rural or small town residents must travel farther to work or shop, they have less time available for community activities and family life. In view of these changes, along with the greater incidence of rural poverty, low income, and marginal

employment, it is not surprising that rural social service workers, mental health workers, and other helping professionals report an increase in stress-related problems in rural areas (Bokemeier & Garkovich, 1991). The commercialized image of country does not include these problems, but they do exist.

Economic Changes

It seems somewhat contradictory to emphasize that while rural America has been incorporated into the mass society, it has become increasingly diverse at the same time. Although rural people have become more alike in what they consume, they have become more different from each other in what they produce and how.

As late as the 1950s, most rural counties counted agriculture as the basis for their economy; if not agriculture, their economy was based on mining, timber, fishing, or some other natural resource-based industry. However, times have changed. Today, manufacturing and retirement income account for more rural income than farming. According to a recent U.S. Department of Agriculture study that classified nonmetropolitan counties by the principle source of their economy (Henry, Drabenstott, & Gibson, 1987), about 25 percent (618) of nonmetropolitan counties can be classified as "manufacturing." Most of these counties are found in the Southeast. They include about 36 percent of the total nonmetropolitan population and 36 percent of total nonmetropolitan income. These counties converted to a manufacturing economy in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s as mature product industries (generally low-skill) moved from cities in the Northeast to rural areas, drawn by cheaper and unorganized rural labor and reinforced by public investments in highways, industrial parks, vocational training centers, and so forth.

The same U.S. Department of Agriculture study classifies 515 nonmetropolitan counties as "retirement." The classification is based on the number of residents who relocate to an area upon retiring. Generally, these counties have environmental or recreational amenities. They include such areas as central New Mexico, the Missouri and Arkansas Ozarks, the Smokey Mountain areas of Tennessee and North Carolina, and the northern portions of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. During the 1980s, the retirement destination counties had the most rapid rate of population growth (16%) of any of the USDA rural county types (Johnson, 1993). These retirement counties also have experienced the most rapid rate of income growth in recent years (Hady & Ross, 1990). In rural areas, 83 percent of the income of the elderly is classified as unearned income—a combination of transfer payments (mostly Social Security) and property income (Hoppe, 1991). Unearned income accounts for about 37 percent of the total rural income (Hoppe, 1991).

The U.S. Department of Agriculture classifies another 25 percent (602) of counties as "farming" counties, but these counties account for only 11 percent of the nonmetropolitan population and 12 percent of total nonmetropolitan income. Most farming counties are located in the upper Midwest and the Plains States. Other classifications include mining and energy extraction (7%); government, those having a military base, major university, etc. (10%); and trade, counties with a larger town that serves as a regional trade and service center (15%).

These classifications reveal an important fact about today's rural America: most rural communities rely on one major source for their economic base. In contrast, metropolitan areas generally have a diversified economy. Therefore, rural communities are more economically vulnerable. For instance, a corporation can move a branch factory to a rural area and create a local economic boom. However, if the corporation later decides to relocate the branch, it may leave the community holding the bag. Communities that depend on farming tend to experience economic peaks and valleys as farm prices fluctuate in response to national and international market forces. Thus, the well-being of most rural communities depends heavily on economic decisions and forces over which residents have little control (Padfield, 1980).

The economic transition of rural America from agriculture and other natural resource-based industries to different and more specialized economic activities has contributed most to the diversification of rural America. Rural areas now include factory towns, ski resort towns, cattle ranching towns, coal mining towns, oil drilling towns, retirement communities, and so on. These are more than just labels; a community's economic base affects its social organization, social class structure, demographic composition, leadership, wealth, and more. Therefore, to understand a rural community you must first determine the community's economic base and how that base is affecting its current and long-term prospects. For example, most farming communities have been losing population for years, while most rural retirement, government, trade, and commuting communities have been growing (Johnson, 1993).

Economic Vulnerability of Rural Residents

Per capita income in nonmetropolitan America is well below that of metropolitan areas and is falling farther behind (Ghelfi et al., 1993). One reason for this inequity can be found in the most common sources of urban and rural income. Real income (constant dollars) for professional, managerial, technical, and complex manufacturing workers has been increasing nationwide. The number of people employed in such occupations is increasing, too. However, most of these jobs are located in metropolitan areas. On the other hand, both income

and employment opportunities have declined among natural resource-based occupations and routine (low-skill) manufacturing. Those occupations are far more prevalent in nonmetropolitan areas. Thus, higher-paying occupations are disproportionately located and growing in metropolitan areas and lower-paying occupations are disproportionately located in rural areas (Falk & Lyson, 1988). The income gap continues to grow. As a result, the more highly educated rural people continue to move to metropolitan areas, leaving behind a higher proportion of working-age rural residents who are struggling to make ends meet.

Low-paying occupations contribute to rural poverty. Data from the 1987 Census of Poverty reveal that 70 percent of rural families living below the poverty line have at least one employed family member; 40 percent have two or more (Greenstein, 1988). The profile of rural poverty that emerges is that of a "working poor." The rural poor also tend not to have equal access to benefits usually available to low-income people because the criteria for these benefits do not apply as well to rural people (Tweeten, 1980). Because more rural people are self-employed, irregularly employed (seasonal work, for example), or employed part-time, they do not receive the same protection from unemployment compensation, training programs, and so forth. Recent studies also reveal that low-wage workers and employees of small businesses are far less likely to have health insurance coverage as an employee benefit (The State of Small Business, 1987). While the economic marginality of many rural residents creates a potential demand for adult education and skill training, such training must be accessible and offer realistic prospects for improved income if it is to be effective (Lichter & Costanzo, 1987).

Recent studies (Korsching & Lasley, 1985) reveal that the actual rate of rural unemployment is much higher than official estimates. One reason is that a higher percentage of rural workers are self-employed and "informally" employed. Self-employed people are not counted as unemployed, although they may be seriously underemployed. Another cause of unemployment is that declining population usually means a loss of business for local establishments.

Interdependence or Dependence

Although economic changes have diversified the rural economy, the effects have been uneven. Some rural areas have seen great increases in income and employment, while others have faced persistent poverty. Most have experienced the widening gap between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan income. The reality is that, whether economic winners or losers, rural areas have become more dependent on economic forces beyond their control. But not just the rural economy has been affected. Incorporation into the mass society and increasing centralization of institutions and services such as education and health care

also have reduced local control. Not only is the rural economy directly connected with national and international markets, but rural schools, health care, and other services have become a part of national systems. One consequence of these changes is greater rural community dependency and less autonomy.

Agriculture, the traditional foundation of the rural economy, exemplifies the growing interdependence. Most rural communities came into existence a century or more ago to meet the production and consumption needs of the surrounding farmers. Today's commercial farmers are accustomed to operating in an environment of national and international markets. Farming is less local and more national and international; it is less dependent on local community services and markets and more dependent on regionalized services and terminal markets. Farming has become a component of an elaborate agribusiness sector. As a consequence, although most farmers claim a rural community as their residence, many farm businesses do not depend on the services of the local community. The same could be said about most rural factories, mining and energy corporations, and other businesses.

Many rural communities depend on other towns for retail and other necessary services. As rural areas bought into the concepts of a mass society (e.g., specialization, centralization, and standardization), many businesses closed in smaller towns and were replaced by businesses concentrated in larger rural trade and service centers. Although the size of such centers varies from one part of the country to another, most have a population of 10,000 or more and have substantial concentrations of retail stores, physicians and other health care services, media, and so forth. Along with this regionalization, many franchise businesses, such as discount stores, fast food restaurants, and hardware chains, have opened in these trade centers. Which communities become the location of these businesses is determined more by market analysts in corporate headquarters than by local independent entrepreneurs. Indeed, many rural communities compete for the location of such franchise businesses just as they compete for factories to relocate in their towns.

Centrifugal Effects on Rural Communities

As a consequence of increased economic dependence, the economic and service role of thousands of small rural communities across the country has diminished. Those communities were once places where people went to church, worked, shopped, went to the doctor, and went to school. Today, their residents depend on other, larger communities for necessary services. Figure 1 shows some of the centrifugal influences that affect smaller rural communities.

Figure 1.

It is increasingly difficult for rural residents to maintain a sense of community when so many things they depend on are located somewhere else. The effects are comprehensive. Modern mass media often provides rural residents with better information about what is going on in the world outside their community than events closer to home. As mentioned above, more and more rural residents get retirement income from Social Security and other transfer payments. Because they do not depend on the town for their livelihood, their interest in the town tends to diminish. Because a growing proportion of funding for rural schools and other government services comes from state and federal sources, many local organizations (such as schools, hospitals, and government boards) pay as much or more attention to the sources of those funds as to the town itself. All of these influences compete for time and attention with the community and make the task of retaining a strong sense of community even more difficult.

Communities and Changes in Boundaries

A community can be thought of as a social space occupied by members who perceive common traditions and ways of doing things, as well as problems that affect the vitality and viability of their community. Communities become effective when they organize themselves to address and resolve their commonly perceived problems. It is that quality that Peshkin (1982) refers to as community integrity—a sense of unity and wholeness shared by members. One part of integrity involves boundaries: What are the boundaries of the community? Who is a member and who is not?

We refer to community as social space in order to emphasize a quality of community beyond geographic or physical space. Everyday experience makes it clear that people living close to each other, such as in an urban apartment building or neighborhood, do not necessarily share a sense of community. They may not even know each other and make no attempt to become acquainted. Social space refers to a sense of belonging whether physically close or not.

Proximity, or sharing the same physical space, historically was associated with the idea of community in rural areas. In many rural communities, the social and physical space coincided. The community had a physical territory that was essential to its identity. Accordingly, community residents resisted changes that threatened those boundaries. The great controversy surrounding school consolidation in many rural communities provides an example. To residents of a community threatened with the loss of a school through consolidation, resistance often is based as much on perceptions of damage to the integrity of the community as on more technical considerations of curriculum, cost, efficiency, and so forth (Smith & DeYoung, 1988). Not only does consolidation threaten loss of a valued community possession, but, in many rural communities, the school is the centerpiece of community activity and, therefore, crucial to the community's identity. School and community reinforce each other greatly in many rural areas.

School consolidation is one of an array of external influences that contribute to the restructuring of the social and physical boundaries of today's rural communities. Because the school is central to the rural community, many rural residents emphasize that school district boundaries, which usually include several towns, have become a more meaningful social space than the trade area of the closest town. To a great extent, community boundaries and the network of relationships that give it meaning are expanding horizontally in rural areas. As this trend continues, however, residents feel a diminished sense of community identity. Consequently, the idea of social space is beginning to replace physical space as the delineation of many rural communities.

Developing and Preserving a Sense of Community

The emergence of new rural trade and service areas and the replacement of proximity by social space compound the task of community development for many smaller rural localities. But communities often have a quality that can transcend economic influences and demographic classifications—a "sense of community." As suggested by Peshkin (1982):

> *Census data permit the creation of a useful picture of a place, one that allows ready comparisons and contrasts. What such data do not reveal is the sense that the residents of such a place have about themselves and about the relationship with other places, a sense that is derived from a compound of historical and contemporary fact and fiction. (p. 12)*

If a place is both small and rural, it is likely that residents will work to retain a sense of community. But size and locale alone are no guarantee. Social and economic changes make a sense of community more problematic, more difficult to sustain. In rural communities that experience population decline and loss of

businesses, residents can develop a sense of fatalism and resign themselves to continued decline. On the other hand, rural towns that experience a population growth of retirees or metropolitan workers must integrate the new residents into the history and fiction of the old community if it is to be retained. Or residents must create a new history and fiction in order to create a new sense of community. Indeed, for residents of such communities, the presence of newcomers can be threatening because community is more than space, it is involved with individual identity. As observed by Jonassen (1968):

> *A community may be bound up with one's identity such that it has become an extension of an inhabitant's ego so that any action which seems to diminish the status of the community and its security becomes, in effect, a threat to the self and security . . . of the individual involved. (p. 32)*

Changes originating outside the community also can produce intense conflicts. All of these changes make it more difficult for a community to maintain a consensus. Traditionally, rural communities strived for consensus and avoided conflict (Padfield, 1980). Indeed, the absence of conflict is a persistent image of rural community life; it is also at variance with the facts.

New Bases for Conflict

"The mixing of rural with urban values, lifestyles, and vocations is generating vitality, change, and growing conflict over the current state and future path of rural communities" (Gilford, Nelson, & Ingram, 1981, p. 4). As new social and physical boundaries of rural communities are established, residents face potential conflicts between different interests and values that were often sublimated within smaller communities in the past.

Rural and urban America differ substantially in income, employment, and other measures of economic well-being. Reducing or eliminating those differences has been a prominent rationale for rural development initiatives from the federal level on down to the local level. Thus, rural development has been defined largely in terms of growth in income, population, and employment, and the addition of services that growth would facilitate. Many rural leaders have bought into this definition. As a result, even very small rural communities are likely to have a community industrial development committee to attract industries and expand their economic base.

Because growth requires change, an emphasis on growth very often conflicts with preserving the integrity of the community as it has existed. Accordingly, advocates of growth and change often find themselves at odds with residents whose identities are linked to the community. Such conflicts can be intractable.

Indeed, Padfield (1980) suggests that, of all the contradictions inherent in American society, the contradiction between "growth fundamentalism" and "rural fundamentalism" is one of the more persistent and profound. If growth is achieved, it appears to come at the price of community integrity. Although not always the case, evidence suggests that community growth can result in greater incorporation into the mass society and a corresponding increase in community dependency. The attitudes and beliefs associated with "growth fundamentalism" and "rural fundamentalism" are at the heart of many community conflicts, including education.

The Centrality of the School and Lifelong Education

Because schools are the most inclusive of all community institutions, requiring nothing more than residency for affiliation, the school is potentially everyone's. In many rural communities, the fact that the school is the largest employer, claims the largest share of the local public treasury, and is the location of most communitywide events reinforces this sense of ownership and the sense of community that often accompanies it. In the words of one rural resident:

> *This community school, it's the only thing that's a hub or a center, a common thing for everybody in the community. Church isn't 'cause we go to different churches. You'll eventually meet in the school, you'll finally end up at the school, 'cause that's the hub. (Peshkin, 1982, p. 114)*

Because schools are intimately linked with community identity and yet the most visible manifestation of the mass society in the community, they often become the battleground for conflicts between growth and tradition in many rural communities. Residents may clash over what the school does and who controls it. The research of Cummings, Briggs, and Mercy (1977) and their analysis of a community conflict concerning textbooks illustrates this point. They stress that the school symbolizes the conflict between the community and mass society and that some community traditionalists conceptualized the school "as an alien social institution, staffed and controlled by individuals subscribing to cosmopolitan value orientations and beliefs" (p. 16).

Conflicts also can occur *between* communities regarding "ownership and control" of a school. Peshkin's (1982) analysis of school consolidation describes a 20-year process of intercommunity conflict regarding school location. The school's location, far more than its program, was the basis for the conflict because the location had implications for the persistence and survival of the community.

Another conflict regarding education that many rural communities face is between greater local control versus society's emphasis on greater standardization, regulation, and accountability (DeYoung, 1987). The trend of modern

society has been toward diminishing prerogatives for individuals and small towns. A school symbolizes community autonomy because it is all that remains of local control in most states. Indeed, education as a function of the state versus the community is a central issue in many school restructuring proposals originating in the early 1990s.

Education and Rural Development

Advocates of change and growth are coming to regard education, broadly defined, as a necessary foundation by which rural localities can arrest the widening rural-urban income gap. Yet, the question remains: What kind of education and for whom? That question is pertinent because expanded investments in traditional education, by themselves, seem unlikely to contribute much more to rural economic development (Reid, 1990).

Rural communities continue to lag behind their urban counterparts in their proportion of college graduates and in occupations that require higher levels of education and training. This lag is both cause and effect for the continuing migration of the most highly educated youth from rural communities. They leave because of an absence of appropriate jobs, and their departure reinforces the rural deficit in educational attainment. As these youth leave, they also take with them the value of the community's investment in their education. Therefore, rural communities find it difficult to capture a return on their educational investment (Deaton & McNamara, 1984). Because of this long-term transfer of educational investment from rural to urban areas, some economists (Tweeten, 1980) have argued for greater public subsidizing of rural education to ensure equity. While such subsidies would address funding inequities for traditional education, they would not necessarily improve prospects for rural community economic development. Other approaches are needed.

Additional industrial relocation to rural areas is a diminishing prospect (Reid, 1990), and even where it occurs it does little to narrow the rural-urban income gap because low-skill manufacturing wage rates are low (Falk & Lyson, 1988). Consequently, rural development specialists are directing more attention to rural community self-development strategies, including greater emphasis on knowledge-based rural development (Hobbs, 1986). Those strategies emphasize a need for greater attention to, and investment in, adult and continuing education.

Many kinds of adult education are needed to support more knowledge-based rural development efforts:

- Residents whose income and productivity are limited by a lack of skills need skill training. As Lichter and Costanzo (1987) emphasize, such

training should be coordinated with local economic development efforts so that people with improved skills can find local employment. Without better employment opportunities, skill training is not likely to be of much benefit either to the recipient or the community.

- Residents who are displaced from an occupation or career need retraining. In recent years, many farmers have been forced from farming, factory workers have lost jobs when a factory has relocated, workers have been displaced from mining and energy occupations, and so on. Such people must find other sources of employment.

- Rural residents need additional education and training to support entrepreneurship. A high proportion of rural workers are self-employed, and small businesses are creating most of the new jobs in rural areas and across the nation. Prospective entrepreneurs need an education that will provide them with the necessary skills and techniques to identify "niches," such as viable business and service opportunities.

Just as important, rural residents need informal and continuing education to support new forms of community self-development. Specifically, they need continuing education regarding the impact of regional and national changes on the rural community. Such education will enable leaders and citizens to identify realistic options for community change and development. Such education also can help community members more effectively use information and analyze the needs and development possibilities of the locality. Because traditional education focuses more on the world outside the community than on the community itself (Nachtigal & Hobbs, 1988), some rural communities are beginning to modify the role and procedures of the traditional school and school program in order to encompass a broader concept of community education.

Community Development

A community may be defined as a social space in which people perceive common problems. One feature that contributes to the strength of a community is the extent to which members organize themselves to confront those problems effectively. In fact, many analysts refer to the development of a community by its degree of organization and the process by which its residents make decisions. Such development *of the community* is in contrast to developments that occur *in the community* with little local participation (Wilkinson, 1986).

Recent research confirms that communities vary in their ability to achieve self-development. Flora and Flora (1988) identified characteristics of rural towns and communities that continue to improve and that have diversified their local economy despite being hit hard by external market forces. The researchers

describe communities that have adapted to macroeconomic changes and have achieved some degree of self-determination through entrepreneurship:

> *Entrepreneurial communities must set priorities and develop appropriate strategies and tactics. Such communities support local government, have a realistic perspective on the future and are able to overcome capacity limits, weigh alternatives, share new technologies, explore institutional innovation and mobilize new partners. (p. 2)*

Characteristics of Entrepreneurial Communities

- Acceptance of controversy
- A long-term emphasis on education
- Adequate resources to facilitate collective risk taking
- Willingness to invest in local, private initiatives
- Willingness to tax themselves to invest in community improvements
- Ability to define community broadly and to envision larger boundaries for smaller communities
- Ability to network vertically and horizontally to obtain resources, particularly information
- Flexible, dispersed community leadership

Flora & Flora, 1988

These characteristics are a starting point for public institutions that provide adult and continuing education. The task of these institutions is to design programs to help rural communities become entrepreneurial. To do so, they will need not only new methods and approaches but also the ability to separate the images about rural communities from the facts.

Conclusion and Implications

Education, broadly defined, will likely have as much or more to contribute to the future well-being of rural residents and the quality of life and economic sustainability of their communities as the community's location and natural resources. Natural resource-based industries, the traditional backbone of the rural economy, have seen declining employment—a trend that is likely to continue. Rural communities need new forms of economic activity as well as

creative approaches to providing community services. They need knowledge-based economic and community development. The capabilities of rural workers and citizens, and the knowledge and creativity of rural community leaders, will be pivotal in determining which rural communities thrive during the 1990s.

While education is essential to rural success, not just any education will do. First, education must be tailored to meet very different local needs and circumstances. That belief is contrary to conventional wisdom about education, which tends to stress standardization rather than adaptation to local circumstances. Rural America has become remarkably diverse over the past few decades, and different communities and regions face very different constraints and opportunities. Providers of educational services must be prepared to work collaboratively with rural communities to identify needs and the strategies to meet them. Indeed, needs assessments that effectively involve community residents can be a form of education for participants. Some rural communities are finding that such a process also is an effective learning experience for secondary school students and can influences the students' attitudes and perceptions about their community. In effect, secondary students can become an important community resource while they are learning. Community leaders and educational providers should take advantage of all available resources to assist with such assessments, including the local office of land-grant university extension services, community colleges, regional development agencies, and so forth.

Second, education to support knowledge-based rural development must be nontraditional (e.g., night and weekend classes for adults who need additional job training) as well as traditional (e.g., an 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. school day for students), continual, and oriented to the different needs, ages, and circumstances of residents. Nontraditional education is important because technology and the economy are changing so rapidly that most workers require frequent retraining to retain their skills. Economic changes in many rural communities (e.g., a factory closing, being forced out of farming) have forced many rural residents into midlife occupational changes. They need education and training to help them make the transition. In addition, community and organization leaders need ongoing information and educational services to improve their ability to make decisions and devise new strategies for delivery of services and for community development. One noted rural development specialist contends that the most important rural need is for a more informed local leadership.

Third, in order to be most effective, education and training programs and services must be collaborative, not only among various providers of education and training, but also within a broader spectrum of community groups, agencies, and organizations. Education and training should be an integral component of achieving individual and community goals rather than a separate set of goals. An obvious connection involves closer collaboration between education and

training and economic development efforts. Providing skill training for jobs that do not exist is of little benefit to anyone, least of all those who receive the training. The need for collaboration extends to all facets of community life. Educational agencies, largely by neglect, have failed to make it easy for students, especially adults, to make a transition from one level of educational attainment to the next. Clearer communication is needed. In many rural communities, the school is the most prominent community institution and the one that contributes most to community identity. Therefore, it is logical to consider the school as the location for a broader range of community education activities, especially after normal school hours. Schools are a logical place for community seminars, adult counseling, manpower training services, and off-campus courses from community colleges, universities, and vocational schools.

Over the past few decades, education in rural areas has reflected society's trend toward institutional specialization and separatism. Yet, as rural education has become a part of the national system, it has become less attuned to local needs and circumstances. From my review of rural areas, I conclude that rural communities must create a broader role for education and training, and that those services must become a more integral part of community activity. These changes will require some institutional innovation and more conscious attention to the types and purposes of education and training if the needs of rural residents and communities are to be met.

References

Bokemeier, J.L. & Garkovich, L.E. (1991). Meeting family needs. In C. Flora & J. Christenson (Eds.), *Rural policies for the 1990s* (pp. 114–127). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Cummings, S., Briggs, R., & Mercy, J. (1977). Preachers vs. teachers: Local cosmopolitan conflict over textbook censorship in an Appalachian community. *Rural Sociology, 42*(1), 7-21.

Deaton, B., & McNamara, K. (1984). *Education in a changing environment.* Mississippi State, MS: The Southern Rural Development Center.

Deavers, K.L. & Hoppe, R.A. (1991). The rural poor: The past as prologue. In C. Flora & J. Christenson (Eds.), *Rural policies for the 1990s* (pp. 85–101). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

DeYoung, A.J. (1987). The status of American rural education research: An integrated review and commentary. *Review of Educational Research, 57*(2), 123-148.

Falk, W.W., & Lyson, T. (1988). *High tech, low tech, not tech: Recent industrial and occupational change in the South.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Flora, C., & Flora, J. (1988). Characteristics of entrepreneurial communities in a time of crisis. *Rural Development News, 12*(2), 1-4.

Ghelfi, L., Comartie, J.B., Lahr, M., & Parker, T.S. (1993). *Rural conditions and trends (Vol. 4, No. 3).* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.

Gilford, D.M., Nelson, G.L., & Ingram, L. (Eds.). (1981). *Rural America in passage: Statistics in policy.* Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Greenstein, R. (1988, August). *Barriers to rural development.* Paper presented at the Annual National Rural Electric Cooperative Manager's Conference, Baltimore, MD.

Hady, T.F. & Ross, P.J. (1990). *An update: The diverse social and economic structure of nonmetropolitan America* (Staff Report No. AGES 9036). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Henry, M., Drabenstott, M., & Gibson, L. (1987). Rural growth slows down. *Rural Development Perspectives, 3*(3), 25-30.

Hobbs, D. (1986, September). *Knowledge based rural development: Adult education and the future rural economy.* Paper presented at the National Invitational Conference of Rural Adult Postsecondary Education, Arlie House, VA.

Hoppe, R.A. (1991). *The role of the elderly's income in rural development* (Rural Development Research Report No. 80). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.

Jonassen, C.T. (1968). *Community conflict in school district reorganization.* Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Johnson, K.M. (1993). Demographic change in nonmetropolitan America: 1980 to 1990. *Rural Sociology, 58*(3), 347–365.

Korsching, P. & Lasley, P. (1985). Problems in identifying rural unemployment. *The Rural Sociologist, 6*, pp. 171–179.

Lichter, D.T., & Costanzo, J.A. (1987). Nonmetropolitan underemployment and labor force composition. *Rural Sociology, 52*(3), 329-344.

Nachtigal, P., & Hobbs, D. (1988). *Rural development: The role of the public schools.* Washington, DC: National Governors Association.

National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. (1992, June). *Public attitudes toward rural America and rural electric cooperatives.* Washington, DC: Author.

Padfield, H. (1980). The expendable rural community and the denial of powerlessness. In A. Gallaher, Jr. & H. Padfield (Eds.), *The dying community* (pp. 169-185). Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Peshkin, A. (1982). *The imperfect union.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Reid, J.N. (1990, April). *Education and rural development: A review of recent evidence.* Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Conference, Boston, MA.

Smith, D.T., & DeYoung, A.J. (1988). Big school vs. small school: Conceptual, empirical and political perspective on the reemerging debate. *Journal of Rural and Small Schools, 2*(2), 2-11.

The State of Small Business: A Report of the President. (1987). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Tweeten, L. (1980). Education has a role in rural development. *Rural Development Perspectives, 1*, 9-13.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1991). *1990 census of population: General population characteristics*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Wilkinson, K.P. (1986). Communities left behind—again. In U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *New dimensions in rural policy: Building upon our heritage*, (pp. 341-346). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Crime and Violence in Rural Communities

Joseph F. Donnermeyer, Director
National Rural Crime Prevention Center
College of Food, Agriculture, and Environmental Sciences
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Introduction

One of the least understood topics in the fields of criminology and criminal justice today is that of rural crime. The reasons are simple. First, research on rural crime remains sparse. Scholars and researchers have spent most of their efforts trying to understand urban patterns of crime. Second, popularized images of rural and urban areas include stereotypes that contain elements of the truth, yet represent gross exaggerations of reality. The image of rural America today still suggests that small towns, farming communities, and the open country are "crime free." This perception is not accurate; yet, relative to the problems of some large urban communities, rural areas do look like havens of safety.

The problem in assessing rural crime is that different people look at the same facts and reach very different conclusions. According to a variety of national and state-level databases reviewed here, crime levels in rural areas in every region of the country are almost always well below the crime rates of cities. However, looking at rural crime rates over time offers a different view—suggesting that while rural areas today have less crime than their urban counterparts, they also have more crime than they did in the past, and their crime problems are serious.

In this paper, we will explore the realities of rural crime. The overarching theme of this paper can best be summarized by the words of a farmer from Northeast Ohio: "We are on the same train as city people, but we're in the caboose." And he is exactly right. The social forces that shape the character of rural and urban communities are largely the same. There are only two major differences. The first is associated with scale. Informal social relationships—what sociologists refer to as primary group relationships—remain relatively more important for influencing the behavior of individuals who live in rural communities. This influence sometimes can serve as a buffer that reduces the impact of societal trends on problem behaviors, but it also can mask recognition that problems exist. The second major difference is that the economic, social, and cultural forces associated with rising levels of crime, violence, delinquency, and gangs appear first in urban areas and then spread to the hinterlands. Rural

communities often lag behind the cities on crime and other social problems. As a result, policymakers often have left rural communities out of resource allocation decisions, because when those decisions were being made, the problems were predominantly urban.

"One Society, Many Faces"

The first book to focus exclusively on rural crime in nearly 50 years, *Rural Crime: Integrating Research and Prevention*, was published in 1982 (Carter et al., 1982). The opening chapter to this book contains a section called "One Society: Many Faces" (Sagarin et al., 1982). This phrase calls attention not only to the great diversity of rural communities, but also to the social and economic dynamics that continually change the character of rural American society.

With this phrase in mind, the first step in exploring rural crime is to recognize that one standard definition of *rural* will not suffice. Therefore, this paper will review information from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), the National Crime Survey (NCS), and a variety of more localized studies of rural crime. In each of these sources, what is meant by the term *rural* will vary. When this paper cites a study, it will describe the author or authors' definition of rural or the place where the research was conducted.

The second step is to remember that rural areas are incredibly diverse—from the coalfields of Appalachia, to the farmland of Iowa, to the fishing villages of Louisiana, to the cattle ranches of Colorado, to the small towns of Illinois and Ohio. Just as most law enforcement agencies are small (as measured by number of personnel), so too are most communities and most prevention and treatment programs. Each community can exhibit a unique crime profile that is difficult to describe with national-level statistics and information.

Not only is the nature of crime in American society changing, but the ways in which crime problems are addressed also are changing. The 1960s, a time when crime rates were increasing rapidly, was marked by an increasing estrangement between the police and citizens. In response, the early 1970s saw an increase in the development of a large variety of crime prevention programs, such as maintaining neighborhood (i.e., block or community) watch programs, providing victim assistance, and placing a renewed value on foot patrols. By the early 1980s, the concept of community-based policing had emerged, and it continues to provide the philosophical underpinning for basic functional changes in the way police agencies operate (Moore & Trojanowicz, 1988; Kelling & Bratton, 1993).

Community-based policing emphasizes that the operating philosophy of law enforcement is to work cooperatively with a wide range of community groups

and institutions to prevent crime and reduce citizens' fear of crime. Community-based policing emphasizes that the traditional police functions of enforcement and apprehension actually can improve as citizens learn once again to trust and cooperate with the police. The police learn to be more responsive to the demands of citizens and to follow a service-based philosophy of keeping the customer happy. Slowly, but inexorably, this philosophy is transforming police agencies across the country.

Rural Crime: Historical Anecdotes

Erikson's (1966) study of the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts Bay in the latter half of the 17th century found a considerable level of crime in a community of only a few thousand persons founded on strong religious norms. One of the most interesting points of Erikson's work is his observation that crime (assault, arson, fighting and brawling, theft, pickpocketing, robbery, con and fraud, and even murder) began to increase as the community became an important international trade center. The population became more transient and the community began to urbanize and become a city. The lesson to be learned from this study is that these same processes—population mobility, urbanization, interdependence—identify the same social and economic trends that help us understand crime and violence in rural communities today.

The latter half of the 19th century witnessed the rapid settlement of the continental United States west of the Mississippi. This period is replete with the romantic images of cowboy life and lore. It was also a time of cattle rustling, stagecoach and train robberies, and the American tradition of settling disputes with a gun (Coates, 1930; Lane, 1976). Again, this period was a time of rapid population growth and population mobility. Land speculation, gold rushes, and the building of the railroads created a "lawless" West, in contrast to the safer environs of the established cities of the East.

Soon, however, the newly settled towns stabilized and the individualism of frontier days gave way to a post-frontier conservatism (Harvie & Jobes, undated). The image of "crime-free" rural areas was born and grew as the centers of crime shifted to the cities located in the East, along the Great Lakes, and on the waterways of the Mississippi River system, which themselves were experiencing rapid population growth and population mobility as new waves of immigrants came to this country. By 1910, suburbanization—that is, movement away from the cities to the fringes of urban areas in order to live in a safer and cleaner environment around cities such as New York, Chicago, Boston, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia—was well underway. Vice and prostitution had long been a feature of America's cities, even from their earliest days, and Irish gangs already had emerged in New York City before the Civil War. By 1900,

urban gangs in cities of the East, Midwest, and West Coast were as diverse as these cities' populations (Inciardi, 1978).

Popularized images of rural crime through the first half of the 20th century included such phenomena as gangsters (e.g., Bonnie and Clyde, John Dillinger), the lynch mobs and the Ku Klux Klan of the South, moonshiners and ridge runners hiding from the "Feds," labor disputes (i.e., strikes by mine workers), and the violence of so-called "backward" and Southern people featured in the novels of William Faulkner, Erskine Caldwell, and others. Yet, these phenomena were seen as aberrations that were not representative of rural society. By this period, statistics from the UCR and research by various criminologists were stating with certainty that rural crime was minor compared to urban crime. For example, the renowned criminologist Marshall Clinard (1944, p. 38) noted that incarcerated persons from farm and rural areas "did not exhibit the characteristics of a definite criminal social type," and they did not associate with delinquent or criminal gangs. Twenty years later, sociologists examining the attitudes and behavior of rural youth stressed the theme of "The Myth of a Rebellious Adolescent Subculture" (Bealer et al., 1965). The crime-free image continued.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act was passed in 1968, after President Johnson declared that massive funding programs were needed to strengthen local law enforcement and criminal justice in order to "reverse the trend toward lawlessness" in cities (Carter, 1982). Yet, it was somehow assumed that rural areas would remain immune to the problem and that rural areas experiencing rapidly growing and serious levels of crime could be understood by such nebulous but academic-sounding phrases as "urban spillover," "urban contamination," and "urban export." Few scholars suggested that rural crime could best be understood by factors endogenous to rural areas. Exceptions included the early research of Hartung (1965), Feldhusen et al. (1965), Polk (1969), Gibbons (1972), Phillips (1976a, 1976b), and Fisher (1980). Each emphasized that although rural offenders commit less serious crimes than urban offenders and rural crime rates are lower than urban crime rates, neither comparison justifies the conclusion that rural areas are crime-free or that problems of safety and security in rural communities should be ignored.

Certainly, social scientists, the law enforcement community, school officials, politicians, journalists, and citizens did not anticipate that the image of crime-free rural areas would be shattered so dramatically by recent media stories of violence, drug use, and the emergence of gangs.

Crime and Violence in Contemporary Rural Society

Trends in Crime: Uniform Crime Reports

One of the most important sources of national data on rural crime comes from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports. Published annually since 1933, the UCR includes seven "Index Crimes," which comprise the four violent offenses of murder and nonnegligent homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, and the three property offenses of burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. The Crime Index contains the numbers of crimes from the records of law enforcement agencies for each of these seven crime types, divided by the population of the area. Hence, the Crime Index lists "crimes known to the police"—that is, events reported by citizens, victims, and law enforcement officers and recorded and counted by the police agency as a crime. The UCR uses these seven crimes as a kind of barometer of crime trends, even though it does not count other criminal events that are perceived by the general public to be serious, including vandalism, driving under the influence, drug arrests, and others.

The UCR reports this information for two categories of urban areas and one category of rural areas. The urban categories are metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) and incorporated places in non-MSA counties, referred to in the UCR as "other cities." Rural areas are defined as unincorporated areas of non-MSA counties. In tables prepared for this paper, the two urban categories are combined.

The Crime Index is expressed on a per capita basis of 100,000 persons. In 1959, the Crime Index for rural areas stood at 397, which means that for every 100,000 rural persons, there were 397 crimes recorded by law enforcement agencies with rural jurisdictions (see Figure 1). The Crime Index rate grew steadily through the 1960s and 1970s (partly due to a change in the way larceny crimes were counted, which inflates the size of the increase). The rates peaked in 1979 at 2,168 and declined to 1,774 per 100,000 persons in 1985. Since then, the rate has again risen (to 2,105 in 1991) and may soon reach a new historical high. Overall, from 1959 to 1991, the rural crime rate rose 430 percent. From 1985 to 1991, it increased 18.5 percent.

Table 1 shows the rate of increase/decrease of crime since 1979. Crime rates have risen more in urban areas (+6.0%) than they have in rural areas (-2.8%). However, from 1988 to 1991, rural rates have gone up 8.6 percent, compared to only 3.6 percent for urban areas.

Figure 1. Crimes known to the police, rural areas, 1959-1991 (Uniform Crime Reports, FBI)

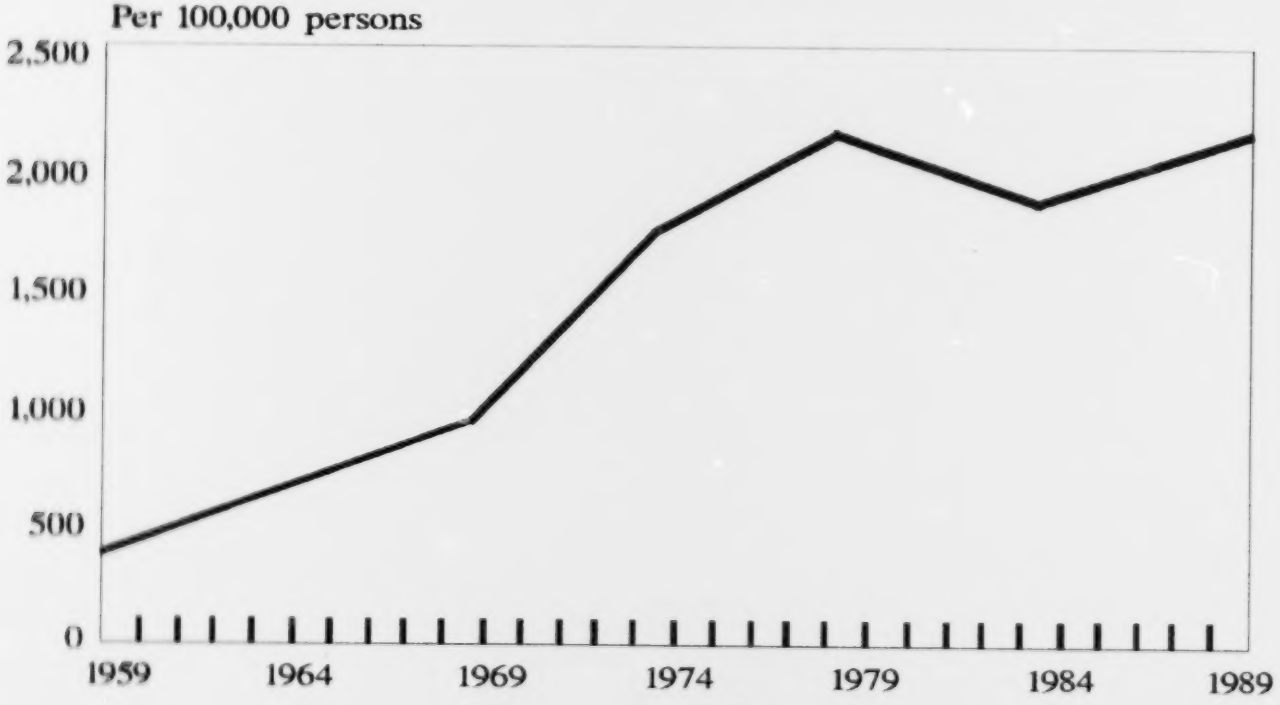


TABLE 1. Percent Change In Offense Rates For Urban and Rural Areas, 1979-1991 (Uniform Crime Reports, FBI)

AREA	1979-1982	1982-1985	1985-1988	1988-1991	1979-1991	1982-1991
Urban	+0.5%	-6.3%	+8.6%	+3.6%	+6.0%	+5.4%
Rural	-4.8%	-12.6%	+7.5%	+8.6%	-2.8%	+2.0%

Urban crime rates, according to the UCR Crime Index, remain well above rural rates (see Table 2). In 1991, for example, the urban crime rate was 6,492.7 per 100,000 persons (violent crime—843.0; property crime—5,649.7). This rate is three times higher than the rural crime rate. Violent crime rates alone in urban areas are almost four times higher than in rural areas. Overall, in both rural and urban areas, the three property offenses of burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft make up about 85-90 percent of all crimes in the UCR Index.

The reader who conducts a cursory examination of Table 2 might be led to believe that there is no need to be concerned about rural crime, at least from the point of view of cross-sectional comparisons. However, several observations need to be made about Table 2, based on a closer reading of the statistics. The first is that in 1966, during a time when Congress declared "war on crime," the UCR urban crime rate was 2,068 per 100,000 persons. The UCR crime rate in 1991 for rural areas has now exceeded that 1966 amount for urban areas and appears on its way to even higher levels. In other words, urban crime in 1966, when seen from today's vantage point and compared to current levels of urban crime, would be regarded as a moderate and even minor problem and would be cited as evidence that American society contains moral values and law-abiding citizens. It is not that rural crime is a minor problem, it is simply that rural crime rates have not attained the "big league" levels found in American cities today.

Second, the proportion of violent crime in the total Crime Index in rural areas has gone up during the past three reporting years, and from 1990 to 1991 rural violent crime increased 5.1 percent (compared to only 0.2 percent in urban areas). Violent crime is universally perceived as more serious than property crime.

Third, the UCR Crime Index is not the total crime picture. Drug abuse violations, vandalism, weapons carrying, simple assault, and many other

TABLE 2. Violent and Property Crime Offense Rates Per 100,000 Persons (Crimes Known to the Police) for Urban and Rural Areas, 1985-1991 (FBI Uniform Crime Reports)

AREA	YEAR 1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	(1985-1991)
Urban								
Violent Crime	620.4	689.9	679.7	711.0	738.3	840.9	843.0	
Percent of Total	10.8	11.3	11.1	12.3	11.6	13.1	13.0	
Annual Percentage Change	--	+11.2	-1.5	+4.6	+10.2	+13.9	+0.2	(+35.9)
Property Crime	5,150.3	5,440.0	5,462.6	5,554.0	5,601.3	5,602.4	5,649.7	
Percent of Total	89.2	88.7	89.9	87.7	89.4	86.9	87.0	
Annual Percentage Change	--	+5.6	+0.4	+1.7	+0.9	+0.02	+0.8	(+9.7)
Rural								
Violent Crime	167.9	175.3	177.7	179.7	188.7	206.7	217.2	
Percent of Total	9.3	9.5	9.4	9.3	9.6	10.2	10.3	
Annual Percentage Change	--	+4.4	+1.4	+1.1	+5.0	+9.5	+5.1	(+29.4)
Property Crime	1,635.5	1,678.3	1,772.8	1,758.6	1,785.1	1,815.4	1,887.7	
Percent of Total	90.7	90.5	90.6	90.7	90.4	89.8	89.7	
Annual Percentage Change	--	+2.6	+5.6	-0.9	+1.5	+0.2	+3.9	(+15.4)

crimes are not reported on a per capita basis in the UCR. Each of these crimes is considered serious and provokes fear and feelings of insecurity among citizens. As we know, these crimes, plus the seven offenses in the Crime Index, are the crimes that influence citizens' reactions to crime and provoke debates among community leaders—both rural and urban—about the efficacy of various responses to the problem.

Table 3 provides a summary of rural and urban crime rates at the regional level in the United States. Within each region, rural rates for violence and property crime offenses are below respective urban rates. However, various regions of the U.S. display sizeable differences in per capita crime. For example, the New England and Middle Atlantic states show the lowest rural and urban crime rates, followed closely by the East North Central and West North Central states (see Figure 2 for regional map of the U.S.). The highest rates of violent crime in rural areas are in the South Atlantic states, while the lowest rates are in the West North Central states. The highest rural property crime rates are in the Pacific states region, while the lowest rates may be found in the East South Central region.

Figure 2. Regions of United States
(Source: FBI Uniform Crime Report)

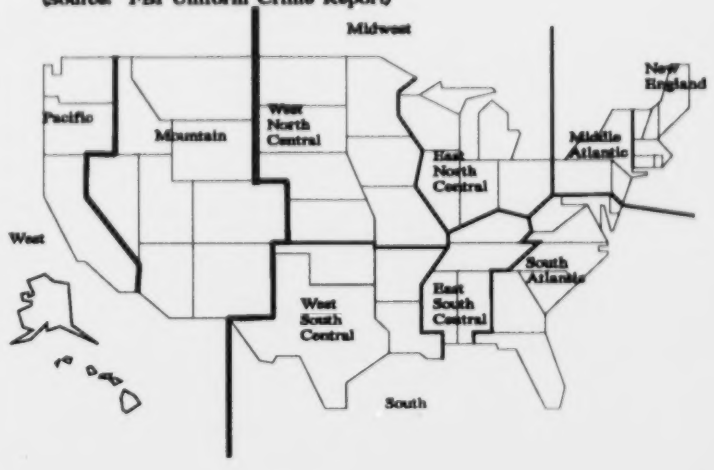


TABLE 3. Violent and Property Crime Offense Rates, Per 100,000 Persons (Crimes Known to the Police), for Urban and Rural Areas, by Region, 1985 and 1991 (Uniform Crime Reports, FBI)

	1985 Rate		1991 Rate		Percent Change 1985-1991	
Area	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Violent Crime	Property Crime
New England						
Urban	431	4,273	575	4,701	+33.4	+10.0
Rural	107	1,601	116	1,888	+8.4	+17.9
Middle Atlantic						
Urban	690	4,145	866	4,539	+25.5	+9.5
Rural	125	1,656	158	1,838	+26.4	+11.0
East North Central						
Urban	588	4,423	651	5,246	+10.7	+18.6
Rural	118	1,215	183	1,786	+55.1	+47.0
West North Central						
Urban	385	4,424	576	5,239	+49.6	+18.4
Rural	70	1,215	99	1,353	+41.4	+11.4
South Atlantic						
Urban	721	5,416	965	6,462	+33.8	-19.3
Rural	229	1,751	362	2,359	+58.1	+34.7
East South Central						
Urban	497	4,217	801	5,192	+61.2	+23.1
Rural	151	1,001	203	1,197	+34.4	+19.6
West South Central						
Urban	651	6,617	9,07	7,135	+39.3	+7.8
Rural	179	1,533	244	1,747	+36.3	+14.0
Mountain						
Urban	524	4,761	608	6,304	+16.0	+32.4
Rural	252	2,329	237	2,117	+9.4	-9.1
Pacific						
Urban	709	5,970	984	5,811	+38.8	-2.7
Rural	308	3,085	252	4,971	-18.2	+61.1

TABLE 4. Violent and Property Crime Offense Rates Per 100,000 Persons for Urban and Rural Areas, Midwestern Region, East North Central and West North Central States, 1985 and 1991 (Crimes Known to the Police, FBI Uniform Crime Reports)

Offense	1985	1991	Percent Change 1985-1991
Violent Crime			
Urban	545.31	732.86	+34.4
Rural	96.06	135.35	+40.0
Murder			
Urban	8.94	10.02	+12.1
Rural	2.61	12.91	+11.5
Forcible Rape			
Urban	37.87	49.78	+31.4
Rural	15.32	21.41	+39.8
Robbery			
Urban	200.39	267.20	+33.3
Rural	8.75	7.65	-12.6
Aggravated Assault			
Urban	298.11	405.86	+36.1
Rural	69.38	103.38	+49.0
Property Crime			
Urban	4,823.57	5,248.03	+8.8
Rural	1,466.55	1,599.31	+9.1
Burglary			
Urban	1,196.87	1,134.38	-5.2
Rural	1513.12	558.06	+8.8
Larceny-Theft			
Urban	3,118.50	3,522.11	+12.9
Rural	876.83	949.08	+8.2
Motor Vehicle Theft			
Urban	508.2	591.54	+16.4
Rural	76.6	9 2.17	+20.3

TABLE 5. Violent and Property Crime Offense Rates Per 100,000 Persons for Urban and Rural Areas, Midwestern Region, 1991 (Crimes Known to the Police, FBI Uniform Crime Reports)

Area	Crime Index Total	Violent Offenses	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Property Offenses	Burglary	Larceny-Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft
East North Central States										
Illinois										
Urban	6,568.5	1,129.5	12.2	43.3	498.0	576.0	5,439.1	1,177.5	3,550.9	710.7
Rural	1,439.2	68.7	1.1	4.0	6.6	57.0	1,370.5	502.1	808.3	60.1
Indiana										
Urban	5,565.0	571.1	7.4	45.4	142.7	375.6	4,993.9	1,090.5	3,357.1	546.3
Rural	1,856.3	221.5	8.0	25.2	11.7	176.6	1,634.8	534.9	974.0	125.9
Michigan										
Urban	6,577.0	877.5	3.4	46.4	122.1	204.0	5,699.5	1,202.6	3,738.2	758.7
Rural	3,012.5	273.8	1.3	12.8	2.7	61.4	2,738.7	1,069.6	1,552.4	116.7
Ohio										
Urban	5,558.5	631.0	7.9	58.7	246.8	315.8	4,927.5	1,144.5	3,220.8	562.2
Rural	1,450.3	120.0	2.2	12.2	7.6	98.2	1,330.3	321.5	913.6	95.2
Wisconsin										
Urban	5,156.9	324.1	5.4	29.4	148.9	140.4	4,832.8	785.3	3,523.5	524.0
Rural	1,813.8	95.8	2.4	10.2	4.0	79.2	1,718.0	622.2	995.4	100.4

Area	Crime Index Total	Violent Offenses	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Property Offenses	Burglary	Larceny-Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft
West North Central States										
Iowa										
Urban	5,395.1	394.9	2.7	27.2	58.5	306.5	5,000.2	1,088.2	3,689.7	222.3
Rural	1,443.3	105.7	0.7	7.2	15.7	82.1	1,337.6	290.7	987.4	59.5
Kansas										
Urban	6,409.1	401.1	6.9	51.5	55.0	287.7	6,008.0	1,465.6	3,932.6	208.7
Rural	1,144.2	132.2	2.8	15.0	4.1	110.3	1,012.0	604.5	923.0	82.5
Minnesota										
Urban	5,144.1	376.1	3.4	46.6	122.1	204.0	4,768.0	912.2	3,433.9	421.9
Rural	1,930.7	78.2	1.3	12.8	2.7	61.4	1,825.5	621.5	1,099.4	131.6
Missouri										
Urban	2,460.0	964.0	12.4	41.6	329.2	580.8	5,805.5	1,496.0	3,589.9	719.6
Rural	1,196.3	136.6	4.5	10.5	7.6	114.0	1,059.7	496.7	506.6	56.4
Nebraska										
Urban	5,428.5	437.8	3.8	34.0	72.9	327.1	4,990.7	857.7	3,868.6	264.4
Rural	1,473.1	58.5	1.8	12.2	3.7	40.8	1,414.6	369.5	971.3	73.8
N. Dakota										
Urban	3,874.5	93.0	1.5	26.0	12.0	53.5	3,781.5	437.5	3,172.2	171.8
Rural	954.5	18.3	0.4	5.1	1.3	11.5	936.2	262.2	623.4	50.2
S. Dakota										
Urban	4,622.7	276.5	1.7	60.7	29.2	184.9	4,346.2	761.5	3,422.8	161.9
Rural	1,021.3	56.5	1.6	11.7	4.9	38.3	965.1	356.8	556.3	52.0

The violent crime rate for rural areas rose from 1985 through 1991 within each of the regions, with the exception of the Pacific states area. The largest percentage increases were in rural areas of the East North Central and South Atlantic regions. Property crime rates in rural areas also rose in all regions except the Mountain states. In general, for both rural and urban areas, property crime rates are rising more slowly than violent crime rates.

In the two regions of the Midwest (East North Central and West North Central regions), violent and property crime rates for rural areas exhibited larger increases than urban areas from 1985 through 1991 (Table 4). The largest rural-urban differential in violent offenses is for the crime of robbery. Rural areas simply have few cases of armed robbery, and the per capita rate of robbery declined for the period from 1985 through 1991. The largest increase in violent crime offenses was for aggravated assault, which increased nearly 50 percent in rural areas. Property crime rates also increased for both rural and urban areas of the Midwest. The largest percentage increases were for motor vehicle theft.

Table 5 breaks down the seven offenses in the Crime Index for each state in the Midwest. Total Crime Index rates for rural areas ranged from a low of 954.5 per 100,000 persons in North Dakota to a high of 3,012.5 in Michigan. The highest and lowest rates of violent crime in rural areas also were in Michigan and North Dakota, respectively.

Table 5 shows that in several cases the crime rate for a particular offense within a particular state is equal between rural and urban areas. For example, the homicide rate in rural Indiana is slightly higher than the homicide rate for urban Indiana, and there is little difference in the per capita homicide rates for urban and rural South Dakota (both are low). The burglary rate in rural Michigan is only about 11 percent lower than the burglary rate in urban Michigan. Despite these convergences, however, the portrait of crime painted by the FBI's UCR for the rural Midwest is the same as that for the nation:

1. Per capita rates in rural areas have increased since 1985.
2. Violent crime shows a larger percentage increase than property crime.
3. Rural crime rates are substantially lower than urban crime rates.
4. Rural crime rates in 1991 are at a level roughly similar to the rates experienced by urban areas about 20 to 25 years ago.

Explaining Differences in Rural Crime Rates

How does one explain regional and state differences in UCR rural crime rates? The UCR is only a barometer and does not include all crime types. Furthermore, delineating nationwide (and even statewide) rural-urban differences fails to recognize the diversity that can be found within both types of communities. Although some small towns and urban neighborhoods have epidemic levels of crime, it must also be remembered that many more locations are relatively crime free, where people are not afraid to take a casual night-time stroll around the block.

No matter how extensive the data, some questions can never be answered definitively. However, it is possible to speculate and suggest why some places have more crime than others. Historical anecdotes show that the underlying causes of crime do not change: (1) a weakening of society's institutions that define and reinforce appropriate or law-abiding behavior—in particular, the family, the school, and religion, and (2) a strengthening of groups that encourage and reinforce law-breaking behavior. Only the particulars change from one historical period to another.

During the present historical period, the following six sets of factors help us understand why some rural communities already have high crime rates or are experiencing a rapid increase in crime:

1. **Culture.** Traditional rural areas, principally in the Southern and Western states, and rural areas dominated by mining and timbering historically have higher rates of violence, which are associated with the use of violence as an accepted means of resolving conflict (Nisbett, 1993).

2. **Poverty.** Like many urban neighborhoods, rural areas with persistent poverty over several generations can exhibit higher levels of crime.

3. **Urbanization.** Rural areas may have higher crime rates, especially property-related incidents, if they (a) are located near interstates or large cities and other urban developments, (b) are suburbanizing, (c) are the location for second or seasonal homes or other tourist developments, and (d) are the location for retired householders moving out of the city.

4. **Rapid change.** Some rural areas are subject to economic and population change that is very rapid, and regardless of whether the change represents an increase or decrease in population or an increase or decrease in jobs or per capita income, rapid change can weaken local community norms that reinforce lawful behavior.

5. **Organized crime**. Some rural areas are the location for organized crime activities, which may include activities ranging from farm equipment or garden tractor theft rings to drug production and drug trafficking gangs, and their presence can increase crime—especially violent crime.

6. **Urban export.** The movement of urban criminals to rural areas will increase crime, but this phenomemon is relatively rare, although it is a common explanation voiced by long-time members of rural communities. The vast majority of people arrested by rural law enforcement are residents of the area.

Trends in Crime: National Victim Survey

It is probable that the rural-urban crime differences exhibited in the UCR are exaggerated to some extent. A weakness of the UCR is that the rate of crime is based on the resident population. In a highly mobile society, this approach presents problems. Most incorporated places, whether urban or suburban, large or small, are the location for factories, offices, retail establishments, medical facilities, shopping malls, restaurants, and places of entertainment. Hence, there are more rural residents who travel to urban centers for work, shopping, and various professional services than urban residents who travel to rural areas. If a UCR Index crime occurs to a rural person while in an urban location, the report of that crime is registered by the law enforcement agency for that jurisdiction. The FBI, however, does not calculate a crime rate based on a transient or commuter population, but on the permanent or resident population. It is all a matter of definition. Should rural crime be examined solely from the point of view of geographic areas, or should it include the crime experiences of rural residents, no matter where the crime may have occurred? In order to interpret these national databases, then, the reader should be aware that the UCR reports on geographical differences of law enforcement agencies, while the National Crime Survey reports on differences in the crime experiences of people who live in cities, suburbs, and rural areas.

Another and more glaring weakness of the Uniform Crime Reports is that they count only crimes known to the police. Unfortunately, many crimes that rural and urban residents experience are never reported. For this reason, victimization surveys were developed in the mid-1970s. The victimization survey is a data collection procedure used to estimate the extent of crime within particular geographic areas by means of a representative sample of the population from which information about crime-related experiences within a specified time frame are gathered. Beyond the fact that the victim survey can ascertain crimes not reported to police, a second advantage is that it can ask about crimes not counted in the UCR's Crime Index. For instance, one of the first rural

victimization studies was conducted by Phillips (1976a and 1976b), who found that vandalism was the most frequently occurring crime among rural residents. The frequency of vandalism was confirmed in early rural victim studies by Smith and Huff (1982) and Donnermeyer (1982) in Indiana.

The Department of Justice administers the National Crime Survey (NCS) through the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Nearly 51,000 households are interviewed every six months, and each participating household is interviewed for a three-year period and then replaced. The NCS has three major divisions of victimization experiences: (1) crimes of violence, for persons age 12 and older; (2) crimes of theft for persons age 12 and older; and (3) household crimes. Crimes of violence and crimes of theft are reported as the number of victimizations per 1,000 persons annually. Household crimes are reported as the number of victimizations per 1,000 households annually. Crimes of violence include rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. Crimes of theft include purse snatching, pocket picking, and personal larceny without direct contact (i.e., theft of personal items from any place other than the victim's home). Household crimes are defined as burglary (both at the permanent residence and while in hotels and other temporary living quarters), larceny at the place of residence, and motor vehicle theft. As the reader can ascertain, the NCS has a similar but slightly different list of crime types when compared to the UCR Index Crimes. Since one person or household can experience more than one crime of the same type within the same year, the NCS rates are not percentages (i.e., the proportion of persons or households experiencing crime).

The NCS divides the U.S. population into three groups: city, suburban, and rural residents. *City* is a population category that refers to those who reside in the central city of an MSA, which represents about 59 million persons who are 12 years of age and older. *Suburban* refers to those who live within MSA counties, but outside of the central city. These populations add up to about 87 million persons. *Rural* refers to the nonmetropolitan population—about 54 million persons.

Table 6 shows crime trends according to the NCS from its inception in 1973. Crimes of violence in rural areas were at their highest in 1991 (24.9 victimizations per 1,000 persons) and have varied little between 1973 and 1991. Rural rates of violence are now close among those classified in the suburban category. Those living in the city are most at risk of violent crime, with a 1991 rate of 43.7 victimizations per 1,000 persons. Although the violent crime rate is higher in the city than in the country, according to the NCS, the difference is much less pronounced than the difference indicated by the UCR. The reader is reminded that the NCS reports on crime *experiences*, and some violent crime (and personal crimes of theft) are more likely to occur to rural residents when they are in urban areas. However, the most important point is that both the

TABLE 6. Annual Rates of Violent, Theft and Household Crime 1973-1991 (National Crime Survey)

Crime/Year	City	Suburban	Rural
Crimes of Violence (Per 1,000 Persons Age 12 or Older)			
1973	44.1	31.3	22.9
1977	47.2	33.7	22.1
1981	51.6	32.8	24.4
1985	39.9	26.8	24.1
1989	38.3	27.2	22.0
1991	43.7	26.4	24.9
Crimes of Theft (Per 1,000 Persons Age 12 or Older)			
1973	99.8	100.0	71.7
1977	112.9	107.2	70.9
1981	101.4	94.2	59.8
1985	83.5	71.2	51.7
1989	87.9	70.0	45.3
1991	73.9	52.4	44.4
Household Crimes (Per 1,000 Households)			
1973	263.2	222.6	164.5
1977	276.8	240.8	167.7
1981	294.8	216.1	173.8
1985	226.9	156.7	139.9
1989	235.1	149.0	126.2
1991	223.4	142.7	121.2

Sources: 1. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1991. NCJ-13956.3.
2. Ronet Bachman, "Crime in Nonmetropolitan America: A National Accounting of Trends, Incidence Rates, and Idiosyncratic Vulnerabilities." *Rural Sociology*, 57:552.

NCS and the UCR data indicate that violent crime is now on the increase in rural and urban America.

Crimes of theft against a person also occurred at higher rates in urban than in rural areas. In all three population categories, the victimization rate has declined steadily since 1977. By 1991, the rate for rural areas had fallen to 44.4 per 1,000 persons, from a high of 71.7 in 1973. Crimes of theft peaked in 1977 for both suburban and city areas and have since declined to rates of 52.4 and 73.9, respectively.

Household-level crime rates were at their highest in rural areas in 1981 and have since declined. In 1991, household crimes occurred at a rate of 121.2 incidents per 1,000 households in rural areas, 142.7 in suburban areas, and 223.4 in central cities. Declines in the personal rates of theft and in household crime rates match trends from the UCR data in the first half of the 1980s. For this period, both sets of national data indicated declines in both rural and urban crime rates. However, the UCR now notes that property crime is again on the rise, while the NCS data continue to find declining rates. This discrepancy may be due to the fact that more people who experience property crimes are reporting these incidents to the police. This difference also may be the result of the different ways in which the two sets of crime indicators are collected.

Table 7 shows the victimization rates for specific crime incidents in 1991. The NCS divides crime incidents (with the exception of pocket picking) into completed or successful incidents and attempted crimes. For example, in the central cities, there were 1.5 incidents of rape per 1,000 persons, of which one-third (0.5 per 1,000 persons) were completed and two-thirds were attempted (1.0 per 1,000 persons). Although the rape victimization rate for residents of rural areas is about one-half the city rate, the level of completed rapes is much closer (0.4 per 1,000 persons).

The low level of robbery in rural areas reflected in the UCR is confirmed in the NCS data. The rate of 1.5 per 1,000 persons is more than seven times lower than the city rate. The suburban rate of robbery is also very low. Rural-urban differences in assault are less pronounced, especially for simple assault (attack without a weapon resulting in only minor injuries).

The number of victimizations among rural residents for the crime of pocket picking is so low that the NCS reports a rate of 0.0. In cities, the rate is only 1.4 per 1,000 persons. Pocket picking also is experienced at a very low rate among suburban persons (0.9 per 1,000 persons). The dominant offense within crimes of theft is personal larceny without contact, which refers to the theft or attempted theft of property from a place other than the victim's home, such as a place of work, or personal property taken from a motor vehicle when it is parked

TABLE 7. Victimizations Rates, 1991, by City, Suburban and Rural Areas, by Type of Victimizations

	City	Suburban	Rural
Crimes of Violence (Per 1,000 Persons Age 12 And Over)			
Rape	**1.5**	**0.5**	**0.7**
Completed	0.5	0.2	0.4
Attempted	1.0	0.3	0.4
Robbery	**11.5**	**3.9**	**1.5**
Completed	7.4	2.7	0.9
Attempted	4.1	1.1	0.6
Assault	**30.7**	**22.0**	**22.7**
Aggravated	10.8	6.5	6.5
Completed	4.1	2.3	2.4
Attempted	6.7	4.2	4.2
Simple	**19.9**	**15.5**	**16.1**
Completed	6.0	4.3	5.0
Attempted	13.9	11.2	11.1
Crimes of Theft (Per 1,000 Persons Age 12 And Over)			
Purse Snatching	**1.4**	**0.6**	**0.0**
Completed	1.1	0.4	0.0
Attempted	0.2	0.2	0.0
Pocket-Picking	**2.9**	**1.3**	**0.9**
Personal Larceny Without Contact	70.9	59.4	43.5
Completed	65.4	55.3	41.7
Attempted	5.6	4.1	1.8
Household Crimes (Per 1,000 Households)			
Burglary	**69.5**	**44.5**	**46.5**
Completed	53.5	34.9	36.8
Forcible Entry	26.5	12.9	12.8
Unlawful Entry	27.0	22.0	24.0
Attempted Forcible Entry	16.0	9.6	9.7
Larceny	**117.4**	**77.7**	**68.6**
Completed	109.5	73.0	65.7
Attempted	7.9	4.8	2.9
Motor Vehicle Theft	**36.5**	**20.5**	**6.2**
Completed	23.0	12.9	4.7
Attempted	13.5	7.6	1.4

at a shopping mall. There is no direct physical contact between the offender and the victim. The personal larceny without contact rate for rural residents was 43.5 per 1,000 persons in 1991, and most of these crimes were completed.

Among household-level offenses, the burglary rate per 1,000 rural households was 46.5, which was slightly higher than the rate experienced by suburban households, but below the rate for city households. The pattern of burglary shows one significant rural-urban difference. The proportion of forcible entry break-ins is much higher among city households. Among rural households, nearly two-thirds of the completed burglaries did not involve force. Instead, the burglar entered the house (or other structures on the property) through an unlocked door or window. This information suggests that simple prevention measures, such as adequate locks (and using the locks) could substantially reduce burglary rates in rural areas.

Similar to the results from the UCR data, larceny (both personal and household-level) is the most frequently occurring crime. Rates for rural and suburban residents were similar in 1991, but both experienced levels that were well below the rate for city dwellers. Motor vehicle theft rates were much lower in rural areas—another rural-urban difference in the NCS data that agrees with the UCR data.

One of the disadvantages of the NCS is that city, suburban, and rural breakdowns within each region are not available. Other information is available, however, including victimization rates for various demographic and social characteristics of persons and households in nonmetropolitan areas. These rates are summarized below.

With increasing age, victimization rates decline, regardless of location in cities, suburbs, or rural areas. Less educated persons have higher rates of violence, but lower rates of theft and household-level crimes. Again, the patterns are the same for both rural ("nonmetro") and urban ("central cities") areas. Likewise, lower-income persons exhibit higher rates of violence in rural, suburban ("other metro areas"), and city areas. The highest rates of personal theft were found in the highest income category. Household crime rates declined by income in rural areas; however, this trend did not hold among suburban and city residents. Persons who have never been married and persons who are divorced or separated exhibit the highest rates of violence, theft, and household victimizations, regardless of location (see Table 8).

For crimes of violence, central city and nonmetropolitan residents follow opposite patterns. Blacks have higher violence victimization rates in central cities, but whites have higher rates in rural locations. For both blacks and whites, the highest rates of household-level crime victimization occur in metropolitan

Table 8: Annual Violent, Theft, and Household Crime Rates by Location in the United States and Demographic Characteristics, 1987-1990*

Demographic characteristic	Crimes of Violence			Crimes of Theft			Household Crimes		
	Central cities	Other metro areas	Nonmetro	Central cities	Other metro areas	Nonmetro	Central cities	Other metro areas	Nonmetro
Total rate	40.6	26.0	21.1	86.0	70.1	45.1	232.1	152.7	120.4
Age									
12-19	86.2	63.0	47.9	128.2	115.5	93.1	410.5	382.4	356.0
20-24	72.7	52.9	51.1	142.2	114.0	75.0	336.8	291.8	230.9
25-34	47.6	29.3	26.4	101.8	83.6	46.1	283.5	189.7	154.9
35-49	29.2	18.7	14.0	80.5	65.8	41.4	261.9	176.1	135.4
50-64	14.4	7.2	6.2	50.4	39.6	24.9	193.5	121.4	92.3
65 and over	7.8	3.0	2.4	24.3	19.4	12.4	115.2	60.3	67.3
Education									
Less than 9 years	44.5	33.3	21.3	60.0	61.9	42.3	168.9	110.3	91.0
1-3 years high school	58.9	41.3	28.9	75.8	77.6	53.3	258.6	175.1	129.4
4 years high school	36.4	22.1	18.6	75.4	59.0	37.2	238.6	155.0	127.0
1-3 years college	45.1	26.5	23.6	111.0	82.9	56.0	270.9	181.9	140.6
4 or more years college	26.5	17.4	13.4	110.3	79.2	50.9	212.9	134.1	105.6

Income									
Less than $9,999	65.0	40.8	34.6	88.3	64.6	46.9	232.2	177.1	149.4
$10,000-24,999	41.9	28.3	19.9	81.1	65.9	41.1	236.8	156.3	114.i
$25,000-49,999	30.5	23.3	15.4	92.2	69.4	47.3	237.3	147.5	107.3
$50,000 or more	23.8	20.9	12.0	94.2	80.0	60.2	231.3	150.1	106.9
Marital status									
Never married	68.3	53.0	45.7	122.1	110.8	80.5	250.2	193.9	195.7
Married	19.8	12.9	9.2	62.4	53.0	31.8	234.9	144.9	105.9
Widowed	12.5	5.6	5.3	34.9	26.5	17.5	142.6	72.9	77.4
Divorced or separated	58.9	44.2	46.5	104.7	89.5	56.9	267.7	212.6	178.6
Race									
White	39.1	25.6	31.3	90.8	69.8	68.6	224.7	148.2	116.5
Black	48.6	31.4	22.2	72.8	76.0	40.6	266.5	217.1	150.0
Other	26.6	25.1	42.9	66.1	67.0	60.0	186.2	157.7	206.8
Gender									
Male	50.2	33.8	25.0	92.1	73.0	48.4	239.9	150.2	115.2
Female	32.2	18.5	17.6	80.8	67.3	42.0	221.3	158.5	132.5

*Victimization rates per 1,000 households or persons age 12 and over. Excludes data on persons whose income and education level, race, or marital status was not ascertained.

Source: Bachman, R.. Crime in nonmetropolitan America: A national accounting of trends, incidence rates, and idiosyncratic vulnerabilities. *Rural Sociology, 57*, 552.

areas ("central cities" and "other metro areas"). In nonmetropolitan areas, individuals classified as "other" have the highest victimization rates. Female-headed households in nonmetropolitan and suburban areas had lower rates of crime than male-headed households for violence and theft. Female-headed households in central cities had only slightly higher victimization rates than male-headed households for violent crime.

Studies of indirect victimization experienced by rural residents is nearly nonexistent. Indirect victimization may be defined as knowledge of recent crimes occurring to friends, acquaintances, neighbors, relatives, and other family members. Indirect victimization should be distinguished from the impact of media stories on crime incidents. Indirect victimization refers only to awareness of crimes experienced by people one knows. A study by Donnermeyer and Kreps (1986) of one rural county in north central Ohio noted that 36 percent of the respondents were aware of incidents of vandalism occurring within the past year to people they knew. Thirty-two percent knew of burglary incidents, 31 percent knew of incidents of theft or larceny, and 18 percent were aware of violent crime incidents. Altogether, slightly more than 60 percent of the sample could recall crime incidents experienced by people they knew. Lee (1982) found that nearly two-thirds of his sample of rural and urban residents in the state of Washington knew of friends who had recently been the victims of crime. Residents of small towns exhibited the lowest amount of indirect victimization, while farm, open-country, and city (places of 100,000 and more) people showed the highest amount of indirect victimization.

Farm and Ranch Crime

Several specialized victimization surveys of farms and ranches have been conducted in Arkansas (Voth & Farmer, 1988), Montana (Saltiel et al., 1992), Ohio (Donnermeyer, 1987) and Tennessee (Cleland, 1990). None of these studies calculated victimization rates in the same fashion as the NCS. Instead, they examined the percentage of operations that experienced various types of crime within a one-year time period. The results indicate that vandalism, household-level larceny (mostly in the form of stolen farm supplies and tools and, on occasion, farm machinery and livestock), and burglary are the most frequently occurring agricultural crimes. Each year, between one-third and one-half of agricultural operations experience a crime.

It is rare to find incidents of violent crime occurring among the farm population, and most of these incidents take place at off-farm/ranch sites. In addition, personal crimes of theft are relatively rare on agricultural operations, but can occur to the farm and ranch population at other locations. The surprising statistic from the farm/ranch victimization studies is that the percentage of agricultural

operations that annually experience one or more burglaries appears to be higher than the percentage for central city households. In particular, the number of break-ins and illegal entry into barns and other buildings is high; however, farm/ranch homes are burglarized infrequently. The difference in the vulnerability of farm/ranch buildings versus the homestead is due to the two simple facts that the home is the base of operations (someone is normally there) and that many farm/ranch buildings are in remote locations and cannot easily be kept under surveillance during the normal routine of chores (especially during the busy times of planting, harvesting, and herding).

Fear of Crime

Two advantages of victimization surveys were mentioned above. A third advantage of these surveys over UCR data is the ability of researchers to examine the reactions of victims (and nonvictims) to crime. As Gomme (1988) emphasizes, fear of crime is as important and may be even more important in determining quality of life than the actual occurrence of crime. Most fear of crime studies use as an indicator a question that asks the degree to which residents of an area are unwilling to walk alone at night in areas near their homes.

Research conducted in the 1970s suggests that fear of crime was lower for rural versus urban residents. However, research conducted during the 1980s notes a rural-urban convergence in fear levels (Weisheit et al., 1993). For example, annual public opinion polls about crime in South Carolina from 1980 to 1985 found that rural residents were slightly more concerned about their safety than respondents from suburban areas and cities (Stephens, 1985). Two statewide studies conducted in 1974 by Phillips (1976a) and in 1980 by Donnermeyer et al. (1983) of open-country residents in Ohio illustrate how perceptions of crime among rural residents have changed. In 1974, 36 percent of respondents under 60 years of age and 44 percent over 60 felt that it was not safe for a woman to walk alone at night in their neighborhood. By 1980, this perception had increased to 45 and 63 percent, respectively.

In 1974, 7 percent of respondents 60 years of age and younger and 14 percent of those over 60 felt that it was not safe for a woman to be at home alone in their neighborhood. In 1980, 14 percent of respondents under age 60 and 22 percent of respondents over age 60 believed that their neighborhood was not safe for a woman alone in her own home. The reader should note that the elderly are the least victimized but the most fearful of all age groups, regardless of location. In this study, fear of crime among younger persons in 1980 matched almost exactly the proportion of elderly who were fearful in 1974. Hence, there is a lag in perceptions by age, much as there is a lag in rural crime rates relative to urban rates.

One phenomenon about rural crime that illustrates the relationship between population mobility, urbanism, and fear of crime was found in research by Donnermeyer and Phillips (1982 and 1984) on reactions by vandalism victims. Surprisingly, victims of vandalism demonstrated higher levels of fear than the victims of all other property crimes and many violent crimes (their survey did not include rape victimization and there were few reported cases of aggravated assault). It appears that vandalism represents a form of "perceived incivility"—that is, a random, capricious act of violence against property. Victims cannot make sense out of it and therefore have a more negative perception of vandalism.

Fear of crime among rural residents shows that subjective perceptions and objective conditions are at variance with each other. The differences between fear levels of rural and urban residents is minor compared to the differences in the actual rates of rural and urban crime (based on both the UCR and the NCS). Fear of crime has never been correlated with real levels of crime. This juxtaposition of perceptions and reality is not the exception—it is the norm. It is important to remember this point as rural law enforcement moves toward a community policing model, because both citizens' perceptions and actual crime must be addressed.

Crime in Rural Schools

In 1989, a special supplement to the NCS measurement instruments contained questions on the victimization experiences of persons 12 to 19 years of age at the school they attend. They also were asked their opinions about crime, the availability of drugs, and awareness of gangs (Bastian & Taylor, 1991).

Among the students living in rural areas, 7 percent indicated that they had been the victim of a property crime and 1 percent indicated that they had been the victim of a violent crime. In comparison, 8 percent of central city students had experienced a property crime and 2 percent had experienced a violent crime. The property and violent crime experiences for suburban students was 7 percent and 2 percent, respectively. As these results indicate, there was only a narrow difference in crime experiences among students by rural and urban location. This finding contrasts starkly to the more dramatic rural-urban differences found in both the UCR and regular NCS data.

Seventy-one percent of the rural students indicated that drugs were available at their school, compared to 66 percent of students from the city and 67 percent from suburban locations. Rural students were more likely than their urban and suburban counterparts to have attended drug education classes (44 percent versus 40 percent and 35 percent, respectively).

One large rural-urban difference is the reported presence of gangs. Only 8 percent of the students living in rural areas indicated that gangs were active in their school, compared to 14 percent of suburban students and 25 percent of city students. Despite this difference, 6 percent of the rural students reported avoiding places at school out of fear of being attacked. This figure was slightly higher than the 5 percent figure for suburban students, but lower than the 8 percent of city students who avoided places at school. In addition, 20 percent of the rural students indicated that they were fearful of being attacked at school (versus 20 percent of suburban students and 24 percent of students from cities). Thirteen percent of rural students feared being attacked while going to and from school—slightly higher than the rate for suburban youth (12%), but lower than that of their city counterparts (19%).

These results indicate that rural youth are experiencing crime at a level and in ways similar to youth from the cities and suburbs. If these findings are accurate, rural crime takes on another new face: crime experiences and feelings of vulnerability and risk exhibit considerable differences by age. Simply put, rural youth have different experiences with crime than their parents.

Abuse

Virtually no information is available on levels of spouse, child, and elder abuse in rural areas. The nature of abuse, which involves sexual, physical, and psychological abuse often between family members or in relationships of trust between the victim and the offender, makes abuse impossible to measure in victimization surveys. Furthermore, victims often are reluctant to report cases of abuse. Nationally, child abuse cases are estimated at about 2.4 million annually. There are no rural-urban differences in physical forms of child abuse, but urban areas display more reported cases of nonphysical abuse, according to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (1988). Miller and Veltkamp (1989) studied a small rural county in Kentucky with nearly 300 reported cases of child abuse (many times greater than any type of national average).

The vast majority (95%) of spouse abuse victims are female. Estimates indicate that the number of wives who are beaten or in other ways injured by their spouses and ex-spouses number close to two million each year. Once again, the prevalence of spouse abuse may be many times larger than the reported number of incidents. One study by Gagne (1992) of rural Appalachia suggests that rates of domestic violence in some rural areas may be higher than city rates.

To the knowledge of this author and others familiar with the literature on rural crime, there is no systematic research on abuse of the rural elderly. However, it is safe to say that such abuse does exist. The author, while working as a

crime prevention specialist for the Indiana Cooperative Extension Service during the late 1970s, heard several accounts of "granny bashing" in the southwestern area of the state. Most often, these anecdotes related stories of children and grandchildren who used physical force against older women living in isolated rural areas in order to steal their social security checks.

Drug Use

It would be impossible to summarize fully the problems and risk behaviors associated with alcohol and drug use among rural adolescents and adults. Suffice it to say that rural-urban differences in usage rates have declined, and for some substances the rural population is ahead. This conclusion is drawn from a review of four national studies: the American Drug and Alcohol Survey, the High School Senior Survey, the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, and the National High School and Beyond (NORC) Survey. A more detailed summary of patterns of rural alcohol and other drug use can be found in a special issue of the journal *Drugs and Society*, edited by Ruth W. Edwards, entitled "Drug Use in Rural American Communities."

There is little rural-urban difference in the use and abuse of alcohol, and the rural population may be more at risk because rural residents are more likely to drink in a motor vehicle. The rate of marijuana use, especially among rural adolescents, is only slightly lower than rates of use among urban youth. Finally, usage rates for certain hard drugs, including inhalants and stimulants, are higher for rural youth. Tranquilizer use shows no rural-urban differences. However, urban youth still exhibit higher usage rates for cocaine and cocaine derivatives—heroin and LSD (Donnermeyer, 1992).

A Profile of the Rural Offender

According to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports section on arrest data, 870,725 persons were arrested by law enforcement agencies covering rural jurisdictions. A comparison of arrest data in the UCR reveals two similarities and two differences in the profile of rural and urban offenders. Rural offenders are arrested for various offenses in roughly the same proportion as persons arrested by suburban and urban law enforcement agencies. This pattern is confirmed by Laub (1983), who analyzed victims' knowledge of offenders for violence, theft, and household crimes in the NCS. Another similarity is that about four out of five rural persons arrested are male, which is only one or two percentage points above the proportion of males arrested in the suburbs and cities.

The two differences involve the race and age of persons arrested. About four out of five rural offenders are white, and about one offender in eight is black. Three percent are Native Americans and one percent are Asian. In

contrast, arrests in the suburbs and cities show a lower rate of white arrests—21 percent (suburbs) and 32 percent (city), than black arrests—78 percent (suburbs) and 66 percent (city). The second difference is that persons arrested in rural areas are older. For example, about 3 percent of rural arrestees are below the age of 15, and 10 percent are 18 years of age and younger. Nearly 40 percent of all rural arrests are of persons 25 years of age and younger. In suburban areas, about 4 percent are 15 years of age and younger, 13 percent are age 18 and younger, and 42 percent are 25 years old and younger. In cities, the ages of persons arrested becomes even younger. Slightly more than 6 percent of persons arrested in cities are 15 years old and younger. Almost 18 percent are 18 years of age and younger, and 47 percent are 25 years of age and younger.

Arrest profiles hardly tell the full story of rural offenders. Self-report studies, largely of rural juveniles concerning the commission of vandalism, violent crime, property crime, and the use of alcohol and other drugs, adds further evidence to the conclusion that rural crime is a serious problem. These studies show that rural youth are as prone to the commission of delinquent acts as urban youth (Donnermeyer & Phillips, 1982 and 1984; Edwards, 1992). The only difference is that rural youth are slightly less likely to commit more serious offenses, a difference that was far greater in the early rural delinquency studies cited near the beginning of this paper. Once again, rural communities are on the "same train" and the caboose is not that far behind the front engine.

Why do rural residents, in particular adolescents, commit criminal offences? Again, the answer goes back to the same economic, social, and cultural forces discussed earlier. Institutions that reinforce law-abiding behavior (primarily family, church, and school) have become weaker, while peer and other groups that encourage law-breaking behavior have gained in influence. The rural sector of American society is no different from the urban sector. As time goes on, there are more single-parent families and more families in which both parents work. Schools are consolidated, bigger, and more impersonal. Although rural persons have consistently shown higher rates of membership in religious organizations and are slightly more likely to go to church, religion's relative influence has declined. These trends create a cluster of risk factors that in turn increase the chances that adolescents will associate with peer groups that teach and reinforce attitudes and promote behavior that society considers inappropriate, such as using drugs, stealing, destroying property, resolving conflicts with violence, and so forth. The factors listed earlier create conditions in which some rural communities are more likely to exhibit weaker institutions of social control and/or stronger influences from deviance-reinforcing peer and other groups.

Gangs: Some Preliminary Evidence From Rural Communities

Despite the focus of media and researchers alike on urban gangs, some gangs already are operating in rural areas. For example, Abadinsky (1986) documents the drug-dealing and other criminal activities of motorcycle gangs in many rural areas. More recently, young white supremacists and skinhead groups have been active in a number of rural communities. Despite this evidence, research on rural-based gangs, on how they emerge, and on their connection to urban gangs simply has not been conducted.

The problem of gangs in rural communities is emerging rapidly. This author has interviewed nearly 30 law enforcement officers from a variety of rural locations throughout the United States. Without exception, these officers now see evidence of gang activity where as recently as five years ago they saw none.

How gangs emerged in rural areas illustrates the way rural and urban areas have become more closely linked and interdependent, as well as how the social forces that explain urban crime can be applied to rural areas. Based on such interviews, four models of urban-to-rural gang migration and one model of rural-to-urban gang migration are described below:

1. **Displacement.** Rural communities near metropolitan areas (often referred to as "rurban" areas) may experience an increase in gang activities due to the displacement effect. Urban police, through various strategies such as saturation patrol and undercover work, make it "too hot" for a gang to continue all or part of its operation in the city. The gang moves out to the edge of the metropolitan area and sets up its operations there.

2. **Branch office.** A gang from the city targets a small town and the surrounding area for two possible reasons. The first reason is that this town is near the intersection of two 4-lane roads and represents a transportation hub in a network of drug trafficking and other illegal activities. The second reason is that the street value of drugs in smaller towns is often two or three times higher than it is in large metropolitan areas, hence offering a market opportunity. Gang members seek a base of operations, perhaps through a relative or acquaintance who lives in the area, or by taking over the dwelling place of a "trophy" (i.e., an unattached, single woman). Sometimes the gang member initially lives in a rural area in order to get out of the city because another gang or the police are looking for him. The gang member then organizes the local youth or "wannabees"—youth who are at risk and prone to drug use, violence, delinquent behavior, and dropping out of school. Sometimes these local youth have developed romantic images of gangs based on cinema and television depictions of youth gangs.

3. **The franchise.** Drug dealers working in rural areas may be seen as equivalent to "mom and pop" businesses. Some find it advantageous to link up with a gang from a large city. More money can be made, drugs can be transported more securely, the latest fad drug is available more quickly, and the local dealer has no choice but to cooperate or he will be forced out of business by a rival that establishes an affiliation with a gang, or the gang itself may be showing signs of moving in directly. For such reasons, a franchise style of gang has emerged in rural communities.

4. **Social learning.** A rural juvenile or adult offender is incarcerated in a detention facility or jail and associates with more hardened and sophisticated detainees from the city. The person serves time and then returns to his rural community with more "street smarts" than before. He is able to take over leadership of the local "wannabees" through a combination of intimidation and superior knowledge.

5. **Hate groups.** Skinheads and young members of the Aryan Nation and other white supremacist groups (many of whom grew up in rural areas) establish their base of operations in a rural area. From this base they move some or all of their activities to the fringe of a large city or even into the city, where minority groups can be targeted.

Although information on the recent emergence of gang activities in rural communities is new, it is already apparent that the underlying causes of this development are no different than those experienced by the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts Bay. A large pool of at-risk rural youth is created by these underlying causes, and the growing interdependence of the rural and urban sectors of American society facilitates the organization of rural-based youth gang activities in rural communities.

Implications for Prevention Programming

While rural crime may suggest the effects of urbanization, it would be incorrect to blame rural crime problems directly on the nearest large city. Rural society is changing. One of the consequences of these changes is that crime levels in rural areas are at historic highs and new problems, such as gangs, delinquency, and drug use by rural youth, have emerged.

The causes of the increase in crime in rural areas can be reduced to three sets of factors. The first can be termed opportunity factors. Transportation systems have made rural areas more accessible today. Many rural areas are urbanizing, and with urbanization comes the inevitable increase in crime. Life-styles also have changed. In the past, when most rural people lived on farms and ranches, the place of work was the same as the place of residence. Now,

most rural people do not work in agriculture. They commute to work. Rural women have entered the workforce to the same extent as urban women. Children attend consolidated schools and often stay after school for sports and other extra-curricular activities. Rural families have shifted their shopping away from the stores on Main Street to the nearest shopping mall. These lifestyle changes mean that rural homes are often vacant, which provides greater opportunity for burglary and other crimes to occur. Rural neighbors are less likely to know each other and therefore to provide surveillance of each other's property. Rural residents spend a greater amount of time in urban locations, such as shopping malls and places of entertainment, where they are at greater risk of victimization.

The second set of factors represent more basic changes in the social fabric of both the rural and urban sectors of American society. An underlying cause of violence, delinquency, drug use, and the emergence of gangs in rural areas has been the weakened influence of the family, schools, and churches on values and behavior. Rural youth, along with their urban counterparts, are exposed to images on television and in the movies that desensitize them to the consequences of violence. A recent report of the American Psychological Association (1993, pp. 32-33) concluded that:

> *There is absolutely no doubt that higher levels of viewing violence on television are correlated with increased acceptance of aggressive attitudes and increased aggressive behavior.*

The family, school, and church become less influential in later adolescence, and the probability of engaging in illegal behaviors is determined largely by association with delinquent peer groups. Since World War II, peer influence has grown stronger while the influence of family and other societal institutions has grown weaker (Oetting & Beauvais, 1986). As rural youth gain access to a motor vehicle, the informal primary group relationships of small rural communities diminish in their influence.

The third set of factors involve the economic conditions of poverty found in many rural communities and the impact of poverty on rural families and young people. In a report prepared for the Children's Defense Fund, Sherman (1992) indicated that rural children live in poor families in greater proportions than urban children. Dropout rates of students in rural schools are higher than in urban areas. Rural schools have fewer resources for handling students with special educational needs. Sherman (1992) also cites dozens of other ways that rural youth are more "at risk" than urban youth. These risk factors contribute to the volatile mix that includes the influence of the media, delinquency prone peer groups, the mobility of the population, and a growing network of gangs.

What are the implications for prevention programming of the social, demographic, and economic forces that have shaped rural America and contribute to rising rates of crime, violence, alcohol and drug use, spouse and child abuse, emergence of gangs, and fear of crime? The first and most obvious implication is that rural communities are highly diverse. Prevention programming needs to be sensitive to this diversity. Success in one rural community does not translate to success in another. The second implication is that multi-jurisdictional programming and cooperation of prevention efforts becomes more problematic in rural communities that may be "side by side" but very different in the problems they face. Third, models that have been successful in large metropolitan areas and, for that matter, in smaller cities may be only partially successful or complete failures in rural environments.

The bottom line is that neither "urban" templates nor "rural" templates can be copied to address the problems of specific rural communities. Solutions to local problems will depend on the ability of local leadership to identify accurately and respond effectively to local problems. Unfortunately, some local rural leaders may be reluctant to admit that a problem exists or is emerging, making prevention planning difficult, if not impossible.

A scientific rendition of the social forces causing the level of violence and crime in rural communities to rise can never match the intuitive appeal and succinctness of that Ohio farmer who summed it up in 14 words: "We are on the same train as city people, but we're in the caboose." I would only add that some rural communities have moved closer to the front of the train. If there was ever an opportune moment for prevention programming to work, it is now and it is in America's rural communities.

References

Abadinsky, H. (1986). *Organized crime*. (2nd ed.). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

American Psychological Association. (1993). *Violence and youth: Psychology's response*. Washington, DC: Author.

Bastian, L.D., & Taylor, B.M. (1991). *School crime: A National Crime Victimization Survey Report*. Washington, DC: Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics. NCJ-131645.

Bealer, R.C., Willits, F.K., & Maida, P.R. (1965). The myth of a rebellious adolescent subculture: Its detrimental effects for understanding rural youth. In L.G. Burchinal (Ed.), *Rural youth in crisis: Facts, myths, and social change*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development.

Carter, T.J. (1982). The extent and nature of rural crime in America. In T.J. Carter, G.H. Phillips, J.F. Donnermeyer, & T.N. Wurschmidt (Eds.), *Rural crime: Integrating research and prevention*. Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun.

Carter, T.J., Phillips, G.H., Donnermeyer, J.F., & Wurschmidt, T.N. (Eds.). (1982). *Rural crime: Integrating research and prevention*. Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun.

Cleland, C.L. (1990). *Crime and vandalism on farms in Tennessee*. Knoxville, TN: Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Tennessee.

Clinard, M.B. (1944). Rural criminal offenders. *American Sociological Review, 50*, 38-45.

Coates, R.M. (1930). *The outlaw years*. New York: Literary Guild.

Donnermeyer, J.F. (1982). Patterns of criminal victimization in a rural setting: The case of Pike County, Indiana. In T.J. Carter, G.H. Phillips, J.F. Donnermeyer, & T.N. Wurschmidt (Eds.), *Rural crime: Integrating research and prevention*. Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun.

Donnermeyer, J.F. (1987). *Crime against farm operations*. Columbus, OH: National Rural Crime Prevention Center, The Ohio State University.

Donnermeyer, J.F. (1992). The use of alcohol, marijuana, and hard drugs by rural adolescents: A review of recent research. *Drugs and Society, 50,* 31-77.

Donnermeyer, J.F., & Kreps, G.M. (1986). *The benefits of crime prevention: A comparative analysis.* Report submitted to the Andrus Foundation, American Association of Retired Persons. Columbus, OH: National Rural Crime Prevention Center.

Donnermeyer, J.F., & Phillips, G.H. (1982). The nature of vandalism among rural youth. In T.J. Carter, G.H. Phillips, J.F. Donnermeyer, & T.N. Wurschmidt (Eds.), *Rural crime: Integrating research and prevention.* Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun.

Donnermeyer, J.F., & Phillips, G.H. (1984). Vandals and vandalism in the rural U.S.A. In C. Levi-Leboyer (Ed.), *Vandalism: Motivations and Behaviour.* Amsterdam: North-Holland Press.

Donnermeyer, J.F., Phillips, G.H., Kreps, G.M., & Steiner, M. (1983). *Crime, fear of crime and crime prevention: An analysis among the rural elderly.* Report submitted to the Andrus Foundation, American Association of Retired Persons. Columbus, OH: National Rural Crime Prevention Center.

Edwards, R.W. (1992). *Drug use in rural communities.* Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press.

Erikson, K.T. (1966). *Wayward Puritans: A study in the sociology of deviance.* New York: Wiley.

Feldhusen, J.F., Thurston, J.R., & Ager, E. (1965). Delinquency proneness of urban and rural youth. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 2,* 32-44.

Fisher, C.S. (1980). The spread of violent crime from city to countryside, 1955 to 1975. *Rural Sociology, 45,* 416-34.

Gagne, P.L. (1992). Appalachian women: Violence and social control. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 20,* 387-415.

Gibbons, D.C. (1972). Crime in the hinterlands. *Criminology, 10,* 177-91.

Gomme, I.M. (1988). The role of experience in the production of fear of crime: A test of a causal model. *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 30,* 67-76.

Hartung, F.E. (1965). *Crime, law, and society*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Harvie, R., & Jobes, P. (undated). *Social control of vice in post frontier Montana*. Bozeman, MT: Montana State University, Montana Agricultural Experiment Station.

Inciardi, J.A. (1978). *Reflections on crime*. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston.

Kelling, G.L., & Bratton, W.J. (1993). *Implementing community policing: The administrative problem*. No. 17 in *Perspectives on Policing*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

Lane, R. (1976). Criminal violence in America: The first hundred years. *The Annals, 423*, 1-13.

Laub, J.H. (1983). Patterns of offending in urban and rural areas. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 11*, 129-42.

Lee, G.R. (1982). Residential location and fear of crime among the elderly. *Rural Sociology, 47*, 655-69.

Miller, T.W., & Veltkamp, L.J. (1989). Child sexual abuse: The abusing family in rural America. *International Journal of Family Psychiatry, 9*, 259-75.

Moore, M., & Trojanowicz, R. (1988). *Corporate strategies for policing*. No. 6 in *Perspectives on Policing*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. (1988). *Study findings: National study of the incidence and severity of child abuse and neglect*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Nisbett, R.E. (1993). Violence and U.S. regional culture. *The American Psycologist, 48*, 441-49.

Oetting, E.R., & Beauvais, F. (1986). Peer cluster theory: Drugs and the adolescent. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 65*, 17-22.

Phillips, G.H. (1976a). *Rural crimes and rural offenders*. Columbus, OH: Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Ohio Cooperative Extension Service, The Ohio State University. (EB 613).

Phillips, G.H. (1976b). *Vandals and vandalism in rural Ohio*. Wooster, OH: Ohio Agricultural Research and Development Center. Research Circular 222.

Polk, K. (1969). Delinquency and community action in nonmetropolitan areas. In R.R. Cressey & D.A. Ward (Eds.), *Delinquency, crime and social process*. New York: Harper and Row.

Sagarin, E., Donnermeyer, J.F., & Carter, T.J. (1982). Crime in the countryside—A prologue. In T.J. Carter, G.H. Phillips, J.F. Donnermeyer, & T.N. Wurschmidt (Eds.), *Rural crime: Integrating research and prevention*. Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun.

Saltiel, J., Gilchrist, J., & Harvie, R. (1992). Concern about crime among Montana farmers and ranchers. *Rural Sociology, 57*, 535-45.

Sherman, A. (1992). *Falling by the wayside: Children in rural America*. Washington, DC: The Children's Defense Fund.

Smith, B.L., & Huff, C.R. (1982). Crime in the country: The vulnerability and victimization of rural citizens. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 10*, 271-82.

Stephens, G. (1985). *Fear of crime poll: 1985*. Columbia, SC: The College of Criminal Justice, University of South Carolina.

Voth, D.E., & Farmer, F.L. (1988). *The ecological correlates of farm victimization*. Fayetteville, AK: Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Arkansas.

Weisheit, R.A., Falcone, D.N., & Wells, L.D. (1993). *Rural crime and rural policing: An overview of the issues*. Normal, IL: Department of Criminal Justice, Illinois State University.

Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use by Youth in Rural Communities

Ruth W. Edwards, Ph.D.
Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research
Colorado State University

Abstract

Overall, nonmetropolitan 12th graders are somewhat less likely to have tried marijuana and LSD and to be current drug users than their urban counterparts. Differences in drug use between nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas, however, have decreased over the past decade nationwide. Prevalence rates for alcohol use are similar in nonmetropolitan and metropolitan communities, but nonmetropolitan 12th graders report more problems from their use of alcohol than do metropolitan students. Nonmetropolitan 12th graders are more likely to report using alcohol while "driving around" than are metropolitan 12th graders—a situation that greatly increases the risks from alcohol consumption, especially when combined with high speeds on often poorly lit and poorly marked country roads. Nonmetropolitan communities vary widely in the patterns and levels of drug use among their youth. Therefore, assessment must be conducted at the community level to plan and use prevention and intervention resources effectively and efficiently.

Introduction

Contrary to the stereotype of rural areas as idyllic, protected environments in which to raise families—which many people still believe—in rural communities in general, substance use is as great a problem as it is in the cities. However, rural communities vary considerably, which complicates our understanding of rural substance use problems and increases the need for prevention, intervention, and treatment programs tailored to individual rural community needs.

The primary purpose of this paper is to present data in an objective manner on the prevalence of alcohol and other drug use by 8th and 12th grade rural adolescents based on a national sample and to compare these prevalence rates to rates found in metropolitan areas at both the national and regional levels. Although practitioners and program professionals working in rural areas have known for some time that significant substance use problems exist among youth in rural areas, they have largely relied upon anecdotal data to substantiate their beliefs. Unfortunately, in these times of dwindling resources for community-based

prevention and treatment programs, anecdotal data—while often emotionally compelling—is not sufficient to convince policymakers at the state and federal levels of the need for resources to address the unique needs of rural communities. Hard data are required on rates of use and associated problems. This paper will address the extreme variation in substance use patterns from one community to another, which makes it difficult to describe rural drug use, and will discuss the implications of these differences relative to the design and implementation of prevention and treatment programs. In addition, the paper will present and discuss data showing that alcohol use presents more problems for rural youth than for urban youth.

Overview of Substance Use

Most national database studies that compare rural and urban areas show that the once considerable rural-urban gap in the rates of alcohol and other drug use is closing. Over the past decade, declines in substance use—particularly alcohol use—have been sharpest in large cities, according to the NIDA-funded study, *Monitoring the Future*, conducted by the University of Michigan (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1992). Thirty-day prevalence rates of alcohol use by 12th graders in large cities dropped from 78 percent in 1980 to 53 percent in 1991, a decrease of 25 percentage points. In nonmetropolitan areas, however, the decrease was only 17 percentage points, from 69 percent in 1980 to 52 percent in 1991 (Johnston et al., 1992).

The data presented in this paper are from the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS) database[1] (Oetting, Beauvais, & Edwards, 1985; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990), a commercially available, school-based drug and alcohol survey. Although the ADAS database represents a sample of convenience, it includes over 225,000 students each year from more than 200 communities with wide geographic dispersion across the United States. Evidence suggests that the ADAS database is representative of the country as a whole; drug use rates reported in the ADAS database closely approximate those found each year in the grades covered by *Monitoring the Future* (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1993), which uses stratified random sampling (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990).

For the purposes of the analyses presented in this paper, schools in the database were classified as "nonmetropolitan" or "metropolitan" based on the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) metropolitan proximity index.[2] It should be noted, however, that the "metropolitan" data in the ADAS database are predominantly from communities of less than 500,000 and should not be considered representative of the largest cities in the U.S. (for details on larger communities, see Johnston et al., 1993). Data on metropolitan/nonmetropolitan

differences are reported for the most recent time period available, the 1992-93 school year. For regional comparisons, data have been aggregated over 1991-93 in order to have sufficient numbers of both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan communities in each region for meaningful analyses.

Prevalence of Substance Use by Adolescents in Rural Areas

Lifetime prevalence data—responses to questions such as "Have you ever tried marijuana?"—are useful to gauge a given population's exposure to drugs, but these data are not generally useful in determining current levels of use; whether a drug has been used in the last month is more useful for this purpose. Use in the last month also is generally preferred because it more accurately reflects ongoing substance use, rather than one-time experimentation. Neither of these prevalence rates, however, gives us a clear idea of the frequency or patterns in which drugs are used. To obtain this information, the ADAS report uses a total drug involvement score based on frequency, type, and combinations of drugs used. Daily or almost daily use of a substance is considered high involvement, infrequent but recent use is moderate involvement, and single-time or infrequent use with no use in the past month or no use ever is low involvement. This score makes it possible to separate youth who are heavily involved in drug use from those who have recently experimented with one or more drugs, but who have not yet become heavily involved in drug use.[3] This distinction is important for planning and evaluating drug prevention and intervention programs.

Generalized prevention programs delivered in school or through the media are effective mostly in discouraging further use by occasional drug users and encouraging youth who have not tried drugs to maintain their abstinence.

Unfortunately, youth who are heavily involved in the use of one or more drugs, including alcohol, are less likely to change their behavior due to such programs. Indeed, generally speaking, in communities where appropriate school-based prevention programs have been conscientiously implemented, little reduction occurs in the high involvement group, but substantial reduction often occurs in the moderate involvement group from one year to the next (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). Youth who are heavily involved with drugs need more intensive, targeted, and often one-on-one intervention to decrease their drug use. The success or lack of success of programs should be gauged by change or lack of change in the behavior of youth who are the realistic targets of these programs. Such programs should not be regarded as failures if they do not reach youth heavily involved with drugs.

Lifetime Prevalence. Lifetime prevalence rates for the use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs by 8th and 12th graders in both nonmetropolitan and

metropolitan communities are presented in Table 1. Rates of alcohol use among students and of students who have been drunk are very similar for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan communities. For marijuana and LSD, however, the percentage of 12th grade students who have tried marijuana and LSD is significantly higher for the metropolitan communities than it is for the nonmetropolitan communities. Smokeless tobacco use is significantly higher in nonmetropolitan areas for both 8th and 12th graders than it is in metropolitan communities.

Table 1: Lifetime Prevalence of Substance Use

	8th Grade		12th Grade	
Ever Tried	**Nonmetro**	**Metro**	**Nonmetro**	**Metro**
Alcohol	70.3%	71.3%	90.2%	90.2%
Gotten drunk	27.3%	25.7%	69.6%	69.6%
Marijuana	11.2%	12.7%	30.3%	40.3%**
Stimulants	5.5%	5.2%	12.8%	11.2%
Cocaine	2.3%	2.6%	5.7%	6.8%
Crack	2.0%	2.4%	2.7%	2.3%
Inhalants	14.7%	15.3%	11.5%	11.9%
Legal stimulants	2.2%	2.1%	4.7%	5.8%
LSD	3.4%	3.89%	7.7%	12.4%**
Cigarettes	45.7%	46.5%	63.1%	63.0%
Smokeless tobacco	25.1%	19.0%**	39.7%	32.5%**
# of communities	96	69	96	71

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the 1992-93 database of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Last Month Prevalence. Reported use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs in the month prior to administration of the survey is presented in Table 2. Consistent with the lifetime prevalence data, there is little difference in use of most drugs except marijuana and LSD, for which use by 8th and 12th graders in metropolitan areas is higher than it is among nonmetropolitan youth. Again, smokeless tobacco use is much more prevalent among nonmetropolitan youth, with one in ten nonmetropolitan 12th graders reporting daily use. Females are generally less likely to report frequent use of smokeless tobacco than males, so the number of males reporting daily usage probably is closer to one in five.

Table 2: Recent Substance Use

	8th Grade		12th Grade	
Ever Tried	Nonmetro	Metro	Nonmetro	Metro
Alcohol	26.2%	28.6%*	54.4%	56.6%
Gotten drunk	9.1%	9.1%	35.1%	36.7%
Marijuana	4.6%	4.6%	10.4%	18.7%**
Stimulants	1.9%	1.9%	3.8%	2.5%
Cocaine	0.7%	0.7%	1.9%	1.5%
Crack	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%	0.5%
Inhalants	5.1%	5.3%	1.7%	1.8%
Legal stimulants	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%	0.5%
LSD	1.0%	1.6%**	2.3%	3.6%**
Cigarettes daily	8.8%	9.3%	18.5%	21.8%
Smokeless tobacco daily use	3.8%	2.7%	10.1%	5.3%**
# of communities	96	69	96	71

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the 1992-93 database of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Table 3: Drug Involvement by Grade and Community Size

	8th Grade		12th Grade	
	Nonmetro	Metro	Nonmetro	Metro
Multi-drug users	1.5%	1.7%	2.9%	3.8%
Stimulant users	0.4%	0.4%	1.1%	1.2%
Heavy marijuana users	0.1%	0.2%	0.6%	1.8%**
Heavy alcohol users	1.5%	1.3%	9.7%	9.3%
Total High Involvement	**3.5%**	**3.6%**	**14.3%**	**16.1%***
Occasional drug users	9.4%	9.6%	6.9%	7.1%
Light marijuana users	2.5%	3.0%	6.5%	11.3%**
Total Moderate Involvement	**11.9%**	**12.6%**	**13.4%**	**18.4%***
Drug experimenters	10.7%	11.1%	14.1%	14.4%
Light alcohol users	13.0%	13.8%	24.7%	20.3%*
Negligible or no use	60.9%	58.9%	33.5%	30.8%
Total Low Involvement	**84.6%**	**83.8%**	**72.3%**	**65.5%***
# of communities	96	69	96	71

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the 1992-93 database of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Drug Involvement Prevalence. Table 3 shows levels of drug involvement for both nonmetropolitan and metropolitan youth. Significantly more metropolitan 12th graders are involved with drugs than nonmetropolitan 12th graders, with greater marijuana use being a major factor in this difference. The reader should notice that at the 12th grade level about one out of every seven youth report high drug involvement. As mentioned above, these youth generally need intensive intervention and will not be affected by broad-based prevention programs.

Regional Comparison[4]

Alcohol Use. Alcohol is the most frequently used substance by all ages across all regions, which is not surprising given the prevalence of alcohol use among adults in our society. The data indicate the percentage of students reporting that they have tried alcohol and the percentage reporting that they have gotten drunk. In the analyses of drug involvement, frequency of getting drunk rather than frequency of alcohol use serves to distinguish problem use from partaking of alcohol as part of a religious ritual or having a few sips of alcohol in a family setting. As can be seen in Table 4, alcohol use varies little across regions or between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan communities, although nonmetropolitan 8th graders in the South are somewhat more likely to report having ever gotten drunk and having been drunk recently than nonmetropolitan 8th graders in other regions. Overall, 8th graders in the Midwest have a slightly lower rate of having gotten drunk than their counterparts in other regions, but the differences virtually disappear by the 12th grade. Both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan youth in the Northeast are more likely to have tried alcohol and to have used it recently than youth in other regions. (See Table 5.) While the prevalence of "getting drunk" is not higher in the Northeast than in other regions at the 8th grade level, it is higher by the 12th grade.

Marijuana Use. Metropolitan/nonmetropolitan differences in marijuana use are more pronounced than the differences in alcohol use. Eighth graders in the West and South are more likely to have tried marijuana. While overall rates of recent marijuana use for both nonmetropolitan and metropolitan 8th graders is between 3 and 5 percent generally, metropolitan 8th graders in the West report a rate of 6.6 percent. Western metropolitan 12th graders also report high rates of recent use compared to 12th graders in other regions, while—interestingly—nonmetropolitan 12th graders in the West report the lowest rates. For the West, where rural communities are often more than one hundred miles from a major metropolitan area and marijuana is not easily cultivated in the predominantly arid climate, lack of supply of marijuana may be the major factor in the lower rural rates. Nonmetropolitan/metropolitan differences in marijuana use also are pronounced for 12th graders in the Midwest.

Inhalant Use. Before 1989, marijuana was the most frequently tried drug other than alcohol among 8th grade students. However, since that time, inhalants have overtaken marijuana and they now are the drug of choice for 8th graders nationwide (Edwards, 1994). Inhalants may be replacing marijuana as the "gateway" drug, at least in part because they are inexpensive and easily accessible. Unlike other drug use rates, reported inhalant use rates are higher at the 8th grade level than at the 12th grade level. This finding seems to run counter to logic, since a lifetime prevalence measure—which is cumulative—generally would be assumed to increase across grades, just as it does for marijuana use.

Why does this prediction not hold true for inhalants? There are probably many reasons, but one of the more likely reasons is the effect of the number of dropouts on 12th grade prevalence measures. Inhalant use is generally associated with poverty and low opportunity conditions, both of which are associated with high dropout rates. Youth who use inhalants in 8th grade are more likely to drop out of school, making them unavailable for in-school surveys in 12th grade. In addition, as youth grow older they may forget casual inhalant use at a young age; they may be reluctant to report having tried them, since inhalants are not a "glamour" drug; or they may redefine in their own minds casual experimentation as "not really using." A third and unfortunately likely factor is that a real increase in inhalant use among younger children has taken place in recent years, and in the future this increased use will be reflected in higher reported rates of having tried inhalants at older ages.

Although the nonmetropolitan/metropolitan differences in inhalant use are not significant for either age in any of the four regions, there are variations in patterns across regions. In the Midwest, metropolitan 8th graders are more likely than nonmetropolitan youth to have tried inhalants, although there is a negligible difference in current use, while in the South it is the nonmetropolitan 8th graders who are more likely than their metropolitan counterparts to have tried inhalants.

Use of Other Drugs

In general, the data show somewhat higher lifetime prevalence for most drugs in metropolitan areas than in nonmetropolitan communities at both the 8th and 12th grade levels across regions, but these differences are not large. While in the West, Midwest, and Northeast lifetime prevalence of cocaine use is higher among metropolitan 12th graders than among nonmetropolitan 12th graders, this difference is most pronounced in the West, where 10 percent of metropolitan 12th graders report having tried cocaine compared to less than 6 percent of nonmetropolitan 12th graders. Again, while there are no significant

Table 4. Lifetime Prevalence of Drug Use by Grade, Community Size, and Region

	West				Midwest			
	8th		12th		8th		12th	
Ever Tried	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro
Alcohol	69.5%	67.2%	91.6%	91.2%	68.2%	71.5%	91.2%	88.6%
Gotten drunk	26.4%	27.5%	70.6%	71.2%	24.5%	25.8%	69.7%	67.7%
Marijuana	10.4%	16.6%*	30.0%	46.7%**	9.6%	11.7%	30.0%	38.0%**
Stimulants	4.9%	5.3%	10.6%	13.2%	6.1%	5.8%	14.8%	12.9%
Cocaine	2.3%	3.8%*	5.7%	10.0%**	2.1%	2.8%	4.7%	6.9%
Crack	1.9%	2.3%	1.6%	2.1%	1.9%	2.6%	1.8%	3.2%
Inhalants	14.2%	14.9%	10.4%	12.3%	14.7%	17.6%	12.0%	10.8%
Legal stimulants	2.0%	2.2%	4.2%	5.6%	2.4%	2.2%	7.7%	6.6%
LSD	3.6%	3.9%	9.0%	16.3%*	2.9%	3.5%	7.5%	11.0%*
Cigarettes	43.6%	43.9%	57.9%	63.3%	44.6%	49.9%*	66.3%	62.3%
Smokeless tobacco	24.9%	17.5%*	40.7%	32.5%	23.6%	17.4%*	40.6%	29.6%**
# of communities	44	20	42	20	61	38	61	41

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the combined 1991-92 and 1992-93 databases of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Table 4 (cont'd). Lifetime Prevalence of Drug Use by Grade, Community Size, and Region

	Northeast				South			
	8th		12th		8th		12th	
Ever Tried	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro
Alcohol	73.3%	75.4%	93.4%	93.2%	67.5%	67.4%	88.4%	90.0%
Gotten drunk	26.0%	26.4%	68.9%	71.6%	30.6%	27.7%	69.7%	68.8%
Marijuana	9.4%	10.0%	34.4%	40.0%	14.8%	12.2%	36.8%	37.1%
Stimulants	4.0%	3.8%	10.3%	7.2%	6.4%	6.9%	13.3%	15.1%
Cocaine	2.4%	2.8%	4.9%	6.9%	3.1%	2.6%	7.3%	7.3%
Crack	1.8	2.5%	1.7%	2.1%	2.2%	2.3%	3.9%	2.9%
Inhalants	12.2%	15.2%	10.2%	9.9%	17.1%	14.5%	11.3%	13.3%
Legal stimulants	1.8%	2.3%	3.8%	5.1%	2.6%	3.1%	4.4%	7.3%**
LSD	3.2%	3.9%	8.5%	12.1%	3.3%	3.5%	9.7%	9.4%
Cigarettes	43.7%	45.0%	62.2%	64.4%	50.9%	50.2%	63.6%	62.7%
Smokeless tobacco	18.0%	16.3%	33.6%	28.9%	29.3%	28.0%	36.3%	37.0%
# of communities	15	47	14	56	35	22	40	21

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the combined 1991-92 and 1992-93 databases of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Table 5. Recent Drug Use by Grade, Community Size, and Region

	West				Midwest			
	8th		12th		8th		12th	
Used in Last Month	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro
Alcohol	25.1%	27.7%	53.6%	52.8%	25.7%	26.6%	55.3%	54.2%
Gotten drunk	8.3%	9.8%	34.0%	31.1%	7.9%	8.1%	33.8%	35.4%
Marijuana	3.4%	6.6%*	9.1%	19.9%**	3.1%	3.9%	10.1%	15.9%**
Stimulants	1.7%	2.0%	1.8%	2.7%	2.2%	2.0%	4.1%	3.9%
Cocaine	0.7%	1.3%	1.1%	2.8%**	0.6%	0.8%	1.1%	2.5%
Crack	0.4%	0.7%	0.3%	0.4%	0.5%	0.7%	0.4%	1.2%*
Inhalants	4.6%	5.4%	1.2%	1.6%	5.5%	5.1%	1.9%	1.7%
Legal stimulants	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.7%	0.7%
LSD	3.2%	1.7%	2.1%	3.9%*	0.9%	1.6%*	2.5%	3.4%
Cigarettes	6.5%	6.6%	12.5%	14.8%	8.9%	9.6%	21.7%	20.8%
Smokeless tobacco	2.3%	1.9%	9.6%	6.4%*	3.2%	1.8%*	9.2%	5.6%
# of communities	44	20	42	20	61	38	61	41

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the combined 1991-92 and 1992-93 databases of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Table 5 (cont'd). Recent Drug Use by Grade, Community Size, and Region

	Northeast				South			
	8th		12th		8th		12th	
Used in Last Month	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro
Alcohol	27.3%	29.8%	55.85%	60.2%	25.8%	25.9%	52.3%	53.9%
Gotten drunk	7.9%	10.1%	38.6%	38.1%	10.7%	9.6%	35.5%	34.8%
Marijuana	3.2%	4.4%	15.9%	19.4%	5.0%	3.9%	12.3%	11.4%
Stimulants	1.6%	2.0%	3.3%	1.5%**	2.5%	2.9%	4.8%	3.8%
Cocaine	0.9%	1.7%	1.1%	1.3%	0.9%	0.7%	2.9%	1.6%
Crack	0.5%	1.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.6%	0.4%	1.0%	0.8%
Inhalants	3.7%	7.3%	3.5%	1.6%	5.8%	5.1%	2.3%	2.5%
Legal stimulants	0.2%	1.2%	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.9%**
LSD	1.2%	2.3%	3.0%	3.5%	1.0%	1.3%	1.9%	2.7%
Cigarettes	8.7%	8.6%	18.0%	22.3%	10.8%	9.5%	22.7%	19.7%
Smokeless tobacco	2.0%	1.9%	3.1%	2.8%	6.5%	5.8%	9.9%	9.7%
# of communities	15	47	14	56	35	22	40	21

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the combined 1991-92 and 1992-93 databases of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Table 6. Drug Involvement by Grade, Community Size, and Region

	West				Midwest			
	8th		12th		8th		12th	
Used in Last Month	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro	Non-metro	Metro
Multi-drug users	1.6%	2.1%	1.7%	4.0%**	1.5%	1.7%	2.5%	3.9%
Stimulant users	0.3%	0.5%	0.8%	1.9%**	0.4%	0.5%	1.1%	1.4%
Heavy marijuana users	0.1%	0.3%*	0.6%	1.3%*	0.0%	0.1%*	0.5%	0.8%
Heavy alcohol users	1.4%	1.4%	9.8%	6.2%	1.3%	1.0%	9.7%	10.2%
Total High Involvement	**3.4%**	**4.3%**	**12.9%**	**13.4%****	**3.2%**	**3.3%**	**13.8%**	**16.3%***
Occasional drug users	8.5%	9.4%	5.5%	7.2%	9.0%	8.7%	7.4%	7.4%
Light marijuana users	2.0%	4.4%*	6.0%	13.9%**	1.8%	2.5%	6.4%	8.3%*
Total Moderate Involvement	**10.5%**	**13.8%**	**11.5%**	**21.1%**	**10.8%**	**11.2%**	**13.8%**	**15.7%**
Drug experimenters	11.6%	11.7%	16.6%	19.2%	10.2%	15.1%	13.2%	14.6%
Light alcohol users	12.6%	11.9%	26.0%	18.3%**	13.4%	13.4%	26.4%	20.4%*
Negligible or no use	61.9%	58.3%	33.0%	28.0%	62.4%	57.0%	32.8%	33.0%
Total Low Involvement	**86.1%**	**81.9%***	**75.6%**	**65.5%****	**86.0%**	**85.5%**	**72.4%**	**68.0%**
# of communities	44	20	42	20	61	38	61	41

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the combined 1991-92 and 1992-93 databases of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

Table 6 (cont'd). Drug Involvement by Grade, Community Size, and Region

	Northeast				South			
	8th		12th		8th		12th	
Used in Last Month	**Non-metro**	**Metro**	**Non-metro**	**Metro**	**Non-metro**	**Metro**	**Non-metro**	**Metro**
Multi-drug users	1.6%	2.2%	2.4%	3.5%	1.8%	1.9%	4.5%	3.4%
Stimulant users	0.3%	0.2%	1.4%	0.7%*	0.5%	0.5%	1.2%	1.4%
Heavy marijuana users	0.1%	0.1%	1.2%	2.0%	0.2%	0.1%	0.5%	0.8%
Heavy alcohol users	0.9%	1.1%	6.8%	9.2%	1.9%	1.5%	9.9%	8.5%
Total High Involvement	**2.9%**	**3.6%**	**11.8%**	**15.4%**	**4.4%**	**4.0%**	**16.1%**	**14.1%**
Occasional drug users	8.6%	10.2%	7.3%	5.9%	9.7%	9.5%	7.7%	8.8%
Light marijuana users	2.3%	2.2%	11.9%	13.4%	3.4%	2.2%*	7.1%	5.7%
Total Moderate Involvement	**10.9%**	**12.4%**	**19.2%**	**19.3%**	**13.1%**	**11.7%**	**14.8%**	**14.5%**
Drug experimenters	9.5%	8.4%	12.0%	12.8%	11.1%	10.3%	15.9%	18.9%
Light alcohol users	15.8%	14.9%	23.3%	23.5%	11.7%	12.6%	19.0%	20.4%
Negligible or no use	60.9%	60.7%	33.7%	29.0%	59.7%	61.4%	34.2%	32.1%
Total Low Involvement	**86.2%**	**84.0%**	**69.0%**	**65.3%**	**82.5%**	**84.3%**	**69.1%**	**71.4%**
# of Communities	15	47	14	56	35	22	40	21

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Data are community averages from the combined 1991-92 and 1992-93 databases of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey.

nonmetropolitan/metropolitan differences by grade or region, stimulant use is generally reported more frequently by 12th graders in the South than in the other regions, with somewhat more use in metropolitan communities. LSD use is generally more frequent in metropolitan communities than in nonmetropolitan communities across regions, with the greatest differences in the West and Midwest but almost no difference in the South. Reported rates of tobacco use differ by the form in which the tobacco is used. Rates of smokeless tobacco use are higher in nonmetropolitan areas, except in the South where there is virtually no difference in rates by community size. Cigarette use varies little from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan communities across regions, but it does vary by region. Youth in the West are significantly less likely to be ongoing cigarette users than youth in other regions.

Overall Drug Involvement

As discussed above, it is difficult to assess the true nature of substance use problems among youth as individuals, in a single community, regionally, or nationally simply by looking at lifetime and recent use prevalence figures for individual drugs. Exploring patterns of drug use, including multidrug use, frequency of use, and intensity of use, is necessary to understanding the severity of the impact that drug use is having on any given individual or group. Across regions, the highest level of drug involvement for 12th graders is found among Midwestern metropolitan youth, with a rate of over 16 percent identified as having high drug involvement. (See Table 6.) For all regions except the South, the general pattern is for higher involvement in metropolitan communities than for nonmetropolitan communities. In the South, the percentage of youth in the high drug involvement group is higher overall than in other regions, with nonmetropolitan youth more drug-involved than metropolitan youth.

Community Variability

What do the statistics presented thus far mean for an individual rural community? (1) Rural communities are as vulnerable to substance use and abuse as their metropolitan counterparts (nonmetropolitan involvement rates tend to run with metropolitan rates, for most drugs). (2) Nonmetropolitan involvement rates at the 8th grade level are very similar to metropolitan involvement rates among 8th graders. This correlation suggests that prevention and intervention programs need to begin at much earlier grade levels. There is very high variability from one community to another in the degree of drug involvement, what drugs are used most, whether younger or older students are more involved with alcohol and other drugs, and the stability of substance use patterns over time. While national or regional statistics can be vital for calling attention to the fact that rural areas are not immune from substance use problems and that state and

federal resources must be allocated to deal with these problems, each individual community must assess its own problem in order to target the limited resources available. A good, well-implemented, districtwide, basic drug prevention program may show positive outcomes in larger communities, because the program will likely have some elements that affect one or more of the various subgroups across the range of their populations. But rural areas cannot afford simply to take a shotgun approach. If a community has an unusually high rate of inhalant use in the 8th grade, for example, a single prevention program that touches only on inhalant abuse probably will have little or no effect on the community's major problem. It is crucial that, in such circumstances, prevention *strategies* focus on the multiple contributing factors of inhalant abuse. The entire community—including students, parents, schools, law enforcement, business people, and others—must understand the full range of substance abuse issues confronting the community.

To illustrate variability between communities, Table 7 shows two Midwestern communities that are within 150 miles of each other, both with populations of fewer than 5,000, in counties that are nonmetropolitan. Community A clearly has a more serious substance use problem among its youth than does Community B. One in four 12th graders in Community A are using marijuana. Hallucinogen use also is unusually high, with one in four 12th graders having tried them and one in ten having used them recently. Perhaps most striking is that in Community A, even at the 8th grade level, only about half of the students still are essentially drug-free, compared with approximately three-fourths of their counterparts in Community B. By 12th grade, only one in five students in Community A is drug-free, compared with almost half of the students in Community B.

Clearly, Community A needs immediate intervention and communitywide measures to cope with substance use by their youth. In addition to school-based programs that emphasize the risks and problems of marijuana and LSD use, Community A should consider implementing town forums to educate parents and community members about the extent of drug use in the community and the factors affecting it, increasing law enforcement efforts relative to drug trafficking, and increasing supervised activities for youth outside of school hours.

Problems from Use of Alcohol

While levels of use of alcohol may not differ from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan communities, the often low-density population and geographic isolation of nonmetropolitan communities generally means that young people spend more time in cars in these communities than do their metropolitan counterparts. Distances that must be traveled to school, entertainment events, or friends'

Table 7: Non-Metropolitan Community Variability

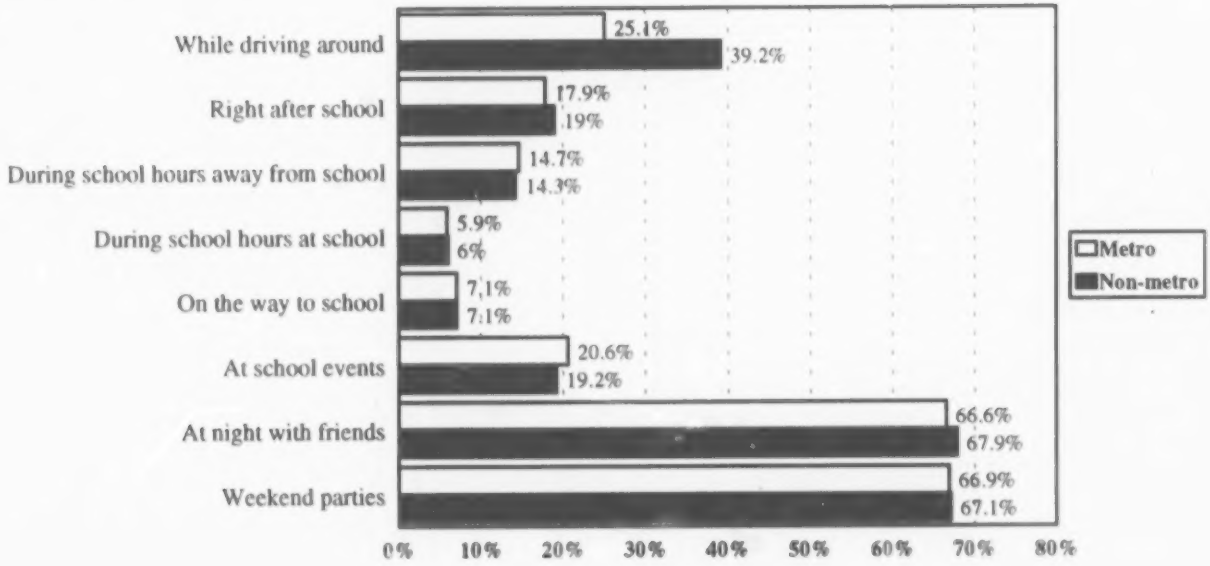
	Community A 7-8th grade	Community B 8th grade	Community A 12th grade	Community B 12th grade
Ever Tried				
Alcohol	69.0%	65.0%	92.0%	80.0%
Marijuana	21.0%	8.0%	46.0%	8.0%
Stimulants	9.0%	5.0%	36.0%	14.0%
Inhalants	21.0%	11.0%	18.0%	14.0%
Hallucinogens	7.0%	2.0%	23.0%	4.0%
Used in Last Month				
Alcohol	34.0%	21.0%	73.0%	40.0%
Marijuana	9.0%	3.0%	26.0%	4.0%
Stimulants	4.0%	3.0%	5.0%	4.0%
Inhalants	11.0%	5.0%	3.0%	6.0%
Hallucinogens	3.0%	1.0%	10.0%	2.0%
High Drug Involvement				
Multi-drug users	4.5%	1.9%	5.1%	3.8%
Stimulant users	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%
Heavy marijuana users	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Heavy alcohol users	1.8%	0.0%	12.8%	3.8%
Moderate Drug Involvement				
Occasional drug users	10.8%	6.7%	12.8%	5.8%
Light marijuana users	6.3%	1.9%	15.4%	1.9%
Low Drug Involvement				
Tried a drug	11.7%	8.7%	15.4%	7.7%
Light alcohol users	9.0%	10.6%	20.5%	28.8%
Negligible or no use	55.0%	70.2%	18.0%	46.3%

Data are from two midwestern communities with populations <5000, The American Drug and Alcohol Survey, 1992-93.

homes are more likely to be greater for nonmetropolitan youth than for metropolitan youth. Not only is alcohol use more likely to be followed by either driving a car or riding with a friend who has also been drinking, but for nonmetropolitan youth more alcohol use takes place *while* driving. Figure 1 shows locations where both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan 12th graders report using alcohol. Metropolitan and nonmetropolitan youth do not generally differ significantly in where they use alcohol, except in one very important setting—while driving.

Figure 1.

Where 12th Graders Report Using Alcohol



Four out of ten nonmetropolitan 12th graders report using alcohol "while driving around," as opposed to only one in four metropolitan 12th graders. The danger of this behavior is obvious and is frequently exacerbated by high-speed driving over country roads that are often unlit and poorly marked.

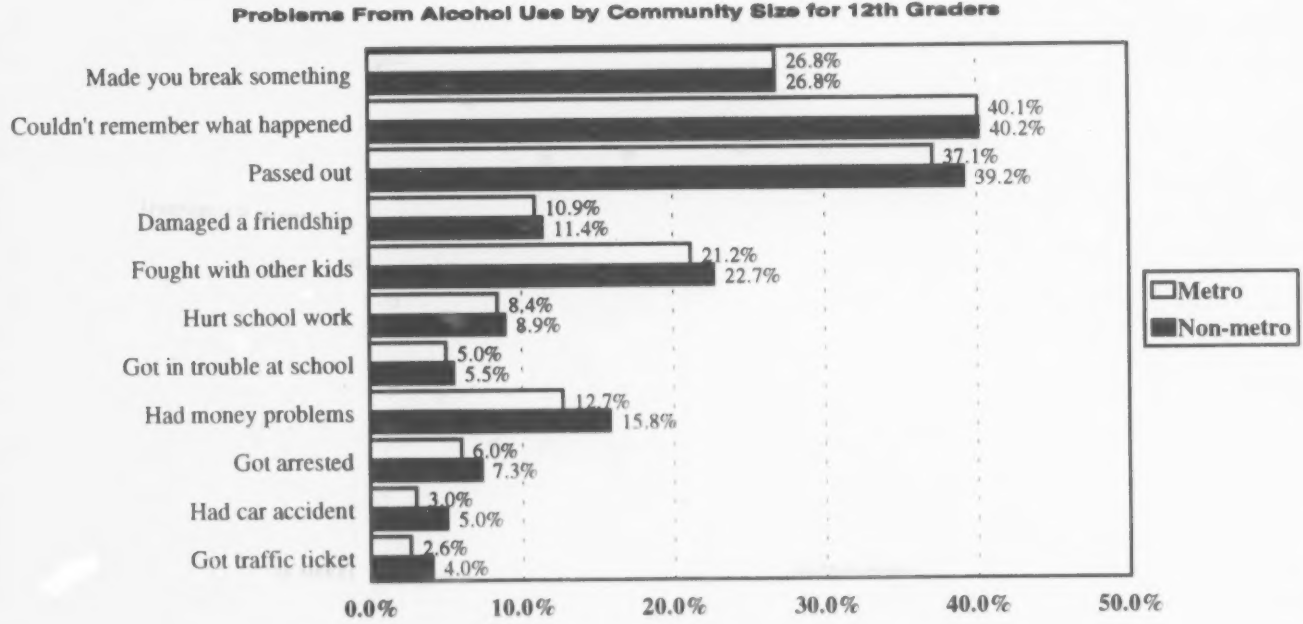
One of the questions on the American Drug and Alcohol Survey asks what problems the student has had in connection with alcohol use. Responses of 12th graders to this question are shown in Figure 2, comparing metropolitan with nonmetropolitan youth. The striking feature of this figure is that, while in general rates of alcohol use are similar for *all* types of problems, nonmetropolitan 12th graders report at least as many or more problems from their alcohol use than do their metropolitan counterparts. They report significantly higher rates of "money problems" and, although the frequency in both groups is low, a significantly higher incidence of car accidents associated with alcohol use. The somewhat higher frequency of problems may be an indication that, although the frequency with which they get drunk is not significantly greater than that of metropolitan youth, nonmetropolitan youth may be drinking more at any given time, thus leading to more severe problems.

Understanding Substance Use and Related Problems in Rural Communities

One key to understanding substance use of all kinds and related problem behaviors is the concept of the peer cluster. Peer clusters are groups ranging in size from two young people who are best friends to larger groups of similar-aged youth who spend their leisure time together and have a great deal of influence on one another. The phrase "peer cluster" is used instead of "peer group" because the latter can refer to both tightly knit groups as well as larger collections of adolescents, such as the freshman class in a high school. A peer cluster consists of the subgroup of the peer group with whom the adolescent spends significant time and identifies closely. Generally, when we speak of peer pressure, we are implying an element of passivity, assuming that youth are unable to resist the influence of others. Within the concept of a peer cluster, peer pressure is seen as mutually derived and reinforced behavior. Within the peer cluster, members decide to engage in specific types of behavior and to hold certain attitudes—such as what to wear and whether or not it is acceptable to get drunk. This way of looking at the social grouping of youth assumes that each youth is actively making choices and contributing to the characterization of the peer cluster. For example, substance users are actively involved in choosing to agree with the input of some peers and to resist the influence of others.

A plethora of studies of substance use have found a clear and direct link between substance use and associating with peers who model and reinforce

Figure 2.


Problems From Alcohol Use by Community Size for 12th Graders
Made you break something
26.8%
26.8%
Couldn't remember what happened
40.1%
40.2%
Passed out
37.1%
39.2%
Damaged a friendship
10.9%
11.4%
Fought with other kids
21.2%
22.7%
Hurt school work
8.4%
8.9%
Got in trouble at school
5.0%
5.5%
Had money problems
12.7%
15.8%
Got arrested
6.0%
7.3%
Had car accident
3.0%
5.0%
Got traffic ticket
2.6%
4.0%
0.0%
10.0%
20.0%
30.0%
40.0%
50.0%
Metro
Non-metro

drug using attitudes and behavior. Conversely, adolescents who abstain or have low involvement with drugs are in peer clusters where drug using behaviors and attitudes are discouraged. Research based on the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (Oetting & Beauvais, 1986) as well as other studies indicate that peer clusters are the most important link to explaining substance use among both nonmetropolitan and metropolitan youth, regardless of region. Other factors commonly associated with substance use, including family, church, and school, primarily have their effect on drug use indirectly by influencing the type of peer cluster with which the adolescent associates.

The stereotype of rural youth holds that they are more likely than urban youth to grow up in communities where family, church, and school increase the chances of associating with peer clusters that discourage (or at least do not encourage) substance use and other deviant behaviors. The data presented in this chapter suggest otherwise. The changing face of rural communities has affected both the potency and character of the influence that these three institutions have on youth.

The smaller scale of rural communities means that rural youth have a smaller pool of peers from which to select. It is not always possible for youth who would prefer to abstain from any substance use to choose only friends who share this attitude. One or two youth introducing use of a particular substance at a party can have a major effect on the prevalence of use community-wide. In a small community, it is likely that only one party is going on over a particular weekend, and a large number of youth of a particular age group are likely to be present. While use of substances can be isolated within small subgroups of the population in urban areas, rural areas may have more generalized exposure. Keeping in mind that the peer cluster is the most potent force in determining the prevalence of substance use, the different dynamics of small communities require different, creative, and community-specific interventions. It is not surprising that rural communities are more likely to show greater fluctuations in levels of adolescent substance use than are urban areas—and that prevention is more challenging.

Endnotes

[1]The American Drug and Alcohol Survey™ is available through RMBSI, Inc., 419 Canyon, Suite 316, Ft. Collins, CO 80521, 1-800-447-6354.

[2]The USDA metropolitan proximity index has been used to classify communities into nonmetropolitan (indices 1-6) and metropolitan (indices 7-17). Of the 192 schools included in the 1992-93 American Drug and Alcohol Survey nonmetropolitan sample, 32 are in counties with largest place less than 2,500; 85 are in counties with largest place less than 10,000; and 75 are in nonmetropolitan counties with largest place not less than 10,000. Of the 140 schools included in the metropolitan sample, 103 are in counties with largest place less than 500,000, and 37 are in counties with largest place greater than 500,000 (Lobao, 1992).

[3]Patterns of substance use included in the levels of substance use are as follows: High Involvement: (1) multidrug users, (2) stimulant users, (3) heavy marijuana users, and (4) heavy alcohol users; Moderate Drug Involvement: (5) occasional drug users, (6) light marijuana users; Low Drug Involvement: (7) drug experimenters, (8) light alcohol users, and (9) youth reporting negligible or no use.

[4]The following regional breakdowns are based on regions used by the FBI in its report on crime in the United States (FBI, 1992): West: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming; Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont; South: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

References

Edwards, R.W. (1993). Drug use among 8th graders is increasing. *The International Journal of the Addictions*, *28*(14), 1621-23.

Johnston, L.D., O'Malley, P.M., & Bachman, J.G. (1992). *Smoking, drinking, and illicit drug use among American secondary school students, college students, and young adults, 1975-1991, volume I: Secondary school students.* (NIH Publication No. 93-3481.) Rockville, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse.

Johnston, L.D., O'Malley, P.M., & Bachman, J.G. (1993). *National survey results on drug use from monitoring the future study, 1975-1992, volume I: Secondary students.* (NIH Publication No. 93-3597.) Rockville, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse.

Lobao, L. (1990). *Locality and inequity: Farm and industry structure and socioeconomic conditions.* Albany, NY: The State University Press of New York.

Oetting, E.R., & Beauvais, F. (1986). Peer cluster theory: Drugs and the adolescent. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *65*(1), 17-22.

Oetting, E.R., & Beauvais, F. (1990). Adolescent drug use: Findings of national and local surveys. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *58*(4), 385-394.

Oetting, E.R., Beauvais, F., & Edwards, R.W. (1985). *The American drug and alcohol survey.* Ft. Collins, CO: Rocky Mountain Behavioral Science Institute, Inc.

Research Note

Links Among Violence, Drug Use and Gang Involvement

Ruth W. Edwards, Ph.D.
Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research
Colorado State University

Abstract

Data from three Western communities—a rural community, a small urban community, and a large urban community—are presented to illustrate that youth who use drugs are more likely to perpetrate violence as well as to be victims of violence. A link between gang involvement and higher levels of both drug use and violence also appears in both the rural and urban communities.

Introduction

Although little research specifically addresses the issue of the co-occurrence of criminal behavior, violence, and drug use in rural areas, the link has been fairly well established for urban areas (Jensen & Brownfield, 1986; Elliott, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989; Chavez, Edwards, & Oetting, 1989; Spunt, Goldstein, Bellucci, & Miller, 1992; Caces, Stinson, & Harford, 1991; Lauritsen, Laub, & Sampson, 1992; Martin, 1992). Furthermore, involvement in an urban gang has been linked with drug use, criminal behavior, and violence (Huff, 1993).

A project underway at the Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research at Colorado State University is collecting data on alcohol, tobacco, and drug use; violence; victimization; and gang involvement as part of a larger study that is looking at social and psychological correlates of drug use and other deviant behaviors (Chavez, 1993). The study population is drawn from three communities in the Western United States: an isolated rural community of approximately 34,000; a small urban community of approximately 90,000; and a large metropolitan community of approximately 400,000. The following data and discussion are based on data from youth who are attending school. Students who have poor grades are oversampled, composing about half of the total sample in each community, so the rates of drug use and other deviant behaviors are somewhat higher than would be expected from students as a general group.

A word of caution to the reader: The relationship of alcohol and other drug use to violence and gang activities is a classic case of the "chicken and egg"

dilemma. It is difficult to know with certainty which "came first," based on the hundreds of cross-sectional studies (i.e., conducted at only one point in time). It is the wrong question to ask. Some rural adolescents probably began using substances and then engaged in other inappropriate behaviors. Others may have engaged in other delinquent behaviors, become the victims of crime, or associated with gangs or groups reinforcing deviant norms, and then became involved with drugs.

Violence and Drug Use

A solid link between drugs and violence can be found by examining the levels of drug involvement and incidents of violence and victimization shown in Table 1. This table indicates a correlation between the rate of occurrence of violence and increasing drug involvement. As can be seen from comparison figures, living in a nonurban community does not appear to offer much protection from violence. Young people from small urban places who have a low involvement with drugs are slightly less likely than their urban (and suburban) counterparts to be injured by a weapon—they also are somewhat less likely to have injured someone with a weapon. Of special interest in this table are the rates of being beaten up for nonurban youth across all drug involvement levels. Rural and small urban rates are generally quite a bit higher than urban rates. As Donnermeyer suggests in an earlier chapter of this monograph, some rural areas may exhibit a culture of violence. Overall, the results in Table 1 show that a substantial proportion of young people have been involved in violent crime, as perpetrators or victims, including those with low drug involvement. However, it is obvious that for students everywhere, becoming the perpetrators or victims of violent crime goes hand in hand with increasing drug involvement.

Gangs, Violence, and Drug Use

Data from this three-community study also illustrate the link between gangs, violence, and drug use. Involvement in a gang was established from the following survey item:

"Have you ever been in a street gang?"

___ Never been in a gang
___ I will never join a gang
___ Used to be in a gang, but not now
___ I will join a gang later
___ Not a member, but hang out with a gang
___ In a gang now

In Table 2, youth choosing either of the first two responses were grouped together under the category "never in a gang/won't ever join." Those choosing the last two responses were grouped together under the category, "in a gang/hang out with a gang." The third group, those choosing the middle two responses, was too small to analyze and was omitted from the table for clarity.

Table 2 shows that both perpetration of violence and victimization occur at much higher rates among the youth who are identified with a gang for *all* community sizes. This connection is particularly strong for situations involving use of a weapon. Of particular note is that the reported incidence of all types of violence is significantly lower across community size among youth who are *not* gang-involved. In general, the highest rates were reported by youth in the smallest community.

Table 3 links gang involvement and drug use. Regardless of community size, high and moderate drug involvement is much more prevalent for youth who are affiliated with gangs. Although the number of youth who are gang-involved in the rural community is small, almost all of those youth who are either in a gang or hang around with a gang are drug-involved (i.e., high and moderate drug involvement), even more so than their urban counterparts.

Conclusion

The links among gang involvement, drug use, and violence hold true regardless of community size. Living in a rural area may provide some protection from some forms of violence—e.g., robbery, perhaps because the perpetrator in a robbery is more likely to be a stranger to the victim and rural areas have fewer "strangers." Living in a rural area does not, however, isolate youth from violence. The data from these three communities suggest a trend toward more interpersonal violence in the smaller community than in the larger ones, which may reflect a culture of violence, as discussed by Donnermeyer (1994) in this monograph. He argues that residents of rural areas may have somewhat greater tolerance for the use of violence in some circumstances. Researchers have found that more people in the South than in the North seem to feel that the use of violence is appropriate under certain circumstances—e.g., as a response to insults, as a means of self-protection, and as a socialization tool in training children (Nisbett, 1993). Furthermore, there is some indication that some of these regional differences may be even more pronounced in rural areas (Nisbett 1993). Perhaps this tendency toward rural/urban differences in attitudes about appropriate use of violence is also true in the Southwest. The communities included in this study appear to demonstrate a greater tolerance for violence.

Table 1. Relationship Between Drug Use and Violence.

Type of Violence	Low Drug Involvement			Moderate Drug Involvement			High Drug Involvement		
	Rural (n=160)	Small Urban (n=171)	Urban (n=605)	Rural (n=98)	Small Urban (n=69)	Urban (n=243)	Rural (n=61)	Small Urban (n=40)	Urban (n=195)
Threatened someone with a weapon	15.0%	17.0%	11.9%	27.6%	29.0%	32.9%	54.1%	37.5%	46.2%
Injured someone with a weapon	8.1%	7.6%	7.9%	16.3%	17.4%	21.4%	44.3%	22.5%	27.7%
Beaten up by parents	15.8%	11.2%	12.6%	22.4%	20.3%	18.5%	41.0%	27.5%	33.3%
Beaten up by siblings	19.0%	17.8%	15.2%	30.6%	17.4%	25.3%	33.3%	20.0%	26.1%
Beaten up by friend	6.9%	4.8%	8.0%	14.6%	11.6%	15.1%	32.8%	25.0%	19.7%
Beaten up by someone else	24.5%	17.2%	17.1%	34.7%	31.9%	29.9%	49.2%	47.5%	39.6%
Robbed	9.4%	18.3%	18.0%*	16.3%	27.5%	30.7%	19.7%	22.5%	28.0%
Injured by a weapon	5.0%	5.3%	4.8%	8.2%	7.2%	11.6%	31.1%	17.5%	17.4%

*p<.05

Source: Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research, Colorado State University.

Table 2. Relationship Between Gang Involvement and Violence.

Percentage Who Have Ever ...	Never in a gang/Won't ever join			In a gang/Hang out with a gang		
	Rural (n=186)	Small Urban (n=159)	Urban (n=599)	Rural (n=23)	Small Urban (n=35)	Urban (n=191)
Threatened someone with a weapon	20.4%	13.2%	16.0%	51.9%	66.7%	45.2%
Injured someone with a weapon	14.0%	5.7%	9.0%*	40.7%	38.1%	34.2%
Beaten up by parents	18.9%	16.4%	15.7%	37.0%	28.6%	18.3%
Beaten up by siblings	24.2%	15.1%	17.1%*	25.9%	23.8%	21.1%
Beaten up by friend	11.8%	5.1%	8.5%	18.5%	23.8%	19.1%
Beaten up by someone else	25.3%	22.0%	16.5%*	44.0%	28.6%	41.5%
Robbed	11.3%	17.6%	19.5%*	25.9%	23.8%	25.7%
Injured by a weapon	8.6%	3.1%	4.4%*	22.2%	23.8%	20.6%

*p<.05

Source: Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research, Colorado State University.

Table 3. Relationship Between Gang Involvement and Drug Use.

Level of drug use	Never in a gang/Won't ever join			In a gang/Hang out with a gang		
	Rural (n=186)	Small Urban (n=159)	Urban (n=599)	Rural (n=27)	Small Urban (n=21)	Urban (n=146)
Multi-drug users	4.8%	6.3%	5.8%	22.2%	4.8%	15.8%
Stimulant users	3.2%	1.9%	3.5%	11.1%	14.3%	8.9%
Heavy marijuana users	0.5%	1.9%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	4.1%
Heavy alcohol users	8.1%	3.8%	4.2%	11.1%	0.0%	6.8%
Total High Involvement	**16.6%**	**13.9%**	**14.2%**	**44.4%**	**19.1%**	**35.6%**
Occasional drug users	14.0%	10.1%	7.8%	25.9%	33.3%	12.3%
Light marijuana users	12.4%	10.7%	10.7%	14.8%	19.0%	24.7%
Total Moderate Involvement	**26.4%**	**20.8%**	**18.5%**	**40.7%**	**52.3%**	**37.0%**
Drug experimenters	26.9%	26.4%	23.9%	7.4%	14.3%	11.0%
Light alcohol users	16.7%	20.1%	14.0%	0.0%	9.5%	7.5%
Negligible or no use	13.4%	18.8%	29.4%	7.5%	4.8%	8.9%
Total Low Involvement	**57.0%**	**65.3%**	**67.3%**	**14.9%**	**28.6%**	**27.4%**

Source: Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research, Colorado State University.

References

Caces, M.F., Stinson, F.S., & Harford, T.C. (1991). Alcohol use and physically risky behavior among adolescents. *Alcohol Health and Research World, 15*, 228-233.

Chavez, E.L. (1993). *Personal communication.* Ft. Collins, CO: Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research.

Chavez, E.L., Edwards, R.W., & Oetting, E.R. (1989). Mexican-American and white American school dropouts' drug use, health status, and involvement in violence. *Public Health Reports, 104*(6), 594-604.

Donnermeyer, J.F. (1994). Crime and violence in rural communities. In G. Karim (Ed.), *Violence and Substance Use in Rural America: Keys to Prevention.* Oak Brook, IL: North Central Regional Educational Laboratory.

Elliott, D.L., Huizinga, D., & Menard, S. (1989). *Multiple problem youth: Delinquency, substance use, and mental health problems.* New York: Springer-Verlag.

Huff, C.R. (1993). Gangs in the United States. In A.P. Goldstein & C.R. Huff (Eds.), *The gang intervention handbook.* Champaign, IL: Research Press.

Jensen, G.F., & Brownfield, D. (1986). Gender, lifestyles, and victimization: Beyond routine activities. *Violence and Victims, 1*(2), 85-89.

Lauritsen, J.L., Laub, J.H., & Sampson, R.J. (1992). Conventional and delinquent activities: Implications for the prevention of violent victimization among adolescents. *Violence and Victims, 7*(2), 91-109.

Martin, S.E. (1992). The epidemiology of alcohol-related interpersonal violence. *Alcohol Health and Research World, 16*, 230-237.

Nisbett, R.E. (1993). Violence in U.S. regional culture. *American Psychologist, 48*(4), 441-449.

Spunt, B.J., Goldstein, P.J., Bellucci, P.A., & Miller, T. (1992). Race/ethnicity and gender differences in the drugs-violence relationship. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, 22*, 293-303.

A Community Comparison of "Youth Gang" Prevention Strategies

Susan R. Takata, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Sociology
University of Wisconsin-Parkside
Kenosha, Wisconsin

This paper was prepared for invited presentation at the October 1993 symposium, "Youth Violence in Small Towns and Rural Areas: Research for Change," sponsored by the North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, the Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities, and the University of Wisconsin-Platteville.

I would like to express special thanks to the 24 undergraduate student researchers at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside; Jeanne Curran, professor of sociology at California State University-Dominguez Hills; and the late Hans O. Mauksch, founder of the Undergraduate Teaching Section of the American Sociological Association. In addition, I would like to acknowledge Gordon Karim and the other reviewers for their helpful comments.

Introduction

Nearly 70 years ago, W.I. Thomas proposed that reality is socially defined: If people define a situation as real, then it is real in its consequences. In a similar vein, Conklin (1975, p. 75) stated more recently that "People react to their perception of social problems rather than to the problems themselves." No social problem reflects this observation more than gang delinquency, an issue for which social constructions, definitions, and reactions to behavior have great significance.

Gangs can be defined in a variety of ways. A workable standard for identifying a street gang developed by Klein (1975, p. 75) is "any denotable group of adolescents or young adults who are (a) generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in their neighborhood, (b) recognize themselves as a denotable group, almost invariably with a group name, and (c) have been involved in a sufficient number of illegal activities to call forth a consistent response from neighborhood residents and/or law enforcement."

Gangs are a fact of life in today's American cities. Much attention already has been paid to gangs in large cities, but we are beginning to realize that many smaller cities also confront serious gang problems. While we understand some

dimensions of group delinquency in large metropolitan areas, we still know very little about the extent and nature of this problem in smaller cities and rural areas. Important details about the nature, history, organizational structure, and activities of small-city delinquent groups are lacking.

Most gang researchers have focused on the law-violating youth groups of major metropolitan areas (Thrasher, 1927; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Short & Strodtbeck, 1965; Yablonsky, 1966; Klein, 1968; Krisberg, 1974; Moore, 1978; Spergel, 1984). Some rare exceptions are the occasional studies of suburban delinquent gangs (Myerhoff & Myerhoff, 1964; Johnstone, 1983). And the few studies that examine gangs in nonmetropolitan areas tend to interpret their findings within a framework derived from large-city gang research (Burgess, 1916; Lagey, 1957; Maxson et al., 1987). As a result, smaller-city gang research risks overlooking important differences that may exist in the organizational structures and activities of youth gangs in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan settings. These studies also may overestimate the kinship and loose drug-dealing ties between smaller-city and metropolitan gangs.

Hagedorn's (1988) study of youth gangs in Milwaukee reveals little similarity between the gangs that operate there and the supergangs of larger metropolitan areas described in the research literature. Although acknowledging that Milwaukee gangs assume some of the cultural trappings of their bigger-city counterparts in Chicago 90 miles to the south, Hagedorn found no proof of "structural ties" between the gangs in his study and Chicago gangs.

In view of these findings, it is useful to determine the influence of metropolitan street gangs on emergent youth gangs in smaller communities located nearby. Recently, researchers have focused some of their attention on gangs in communities with populations of 100,000 or less (Fuhrmann, 1992; Maxson, 1993). In southeastern Wisconsin, one unique aspect of gang research in small cities (Takata & Zevitz, 1987; Takata & Zevitz, 1990; Zevitz & Takata, 1992; Zevitz, 1993) has been the direct involvement of undergraduate students from the University of Wisconsin-Parkside (UWP), a small university of 5,300 undergraduates emphasizing a "teacher-scholar" philosophy among its faculty. Until 1986, when the first residence halls opened, UWP was basically a commuter campus.

For today's undergraduate student, neither the liberal arts nor technical-vocational models satisfactorily bridge the gap between theory and practice. Real learning takes place when students apply their knowledge by putting theory into practice. "Learning by doing" is not a new idea (Dewey, 1938; Bruner, 1966). At UWP, such a student-operated research center is part of an ongoing learning and teaching experiment that began in the 1970s at California

State University-Dominguez Hills (Curran & Telesky, 1975; Curran, 1977; Takata, 1991a; Takata, 1991b). Unlike the more traditional research assistantship model, in a student-operated research center, students take full responsibility for all phases of the research process—from developing the research design to presenting the final report. Students are challenged by a genuine community problem. "Hands-on" research consists of very real dilemmas, decisions, pressures, politics, and personalities.

The purpose of the research described here was to increase understanding of the scope and nature of small-city gangs, possible links between small-city gangs and those of larger cities, and community perceptions of small-city gangs. In addition, this paper presents important details on the development of a community/university-based approach to prevention and intervention planning for medium- and small-sized cities and for rural areas. It is hoped that the knowledge generated from this *action research* can be used to benefit local prevention and intervention initiatives.

The Problem

This paper discusses how two small Midwestern cities responded to the emergence of youth gangs and how a local university became a community resource in addressing the problem. Between 1986 and 1988, University of Wisconsin-Parkside (UWP) students conducted research projects in Racine and Kenosha, two cities neighboring the university. Several similarities exist between Kenosha and Racine. Both cities have approximately the same population and both saw gangs emerging in the 1980s. Some of the same gangs—Black Gangster Disciples, Vice Lords, Latin Kings—were identified in both cities. During this period, both cities were experiencing a deindustrialized local economy that resulted in all-time high unemployment rates. Major industries were closing down or moving away, and it sometimes appeared that the area was becoming a "rust belt."

City officials and residents believed that gangs were coming from Chicago; Kenosha believed almost exclusively in the "welfare magnet" explanation. As an immediate response to the emerging gang situation, both Kenosha and Racine formed citywide task forces and their police departments established specialized gang units. Both task forces commissioned studies to be conducted by UWP, and the results of these studies are included in this paper.

The Method

Mindful of Glaser and Strauss's (1967, p. 67) warning that "different people in different positions may offer as 'the facts' very different information about the same subject," the researchers employed a strategy using multiple methods to

test the validity and reliability of the data that they received. This multiple-method approach is called triangulation (Denzin, 1970). Each research project used survey research, interviews, field observation, and content analysis of written documents to understand more clearly the differing perceptions of gang problems in Racine and Kenosha.

Through triangulation (Webb et al., 1966), students worked with a variety of research methodologies. Schutt et al. (1984, p. 248) state that "the multimethod strategy is well suited to enhance student recognition of the gap between ideas and reality." Each subgroup was responsible for all phases of its particular research method—planning, designing, constructing, and testing the research instrument; selecting, administering, and collecting the data; processing, coding, and analyzing the findings; and writing and presenting the final report.

Students spent most of their time outside of the classroom. In addition to doing research, they attended community meetings, became involved with local issues, networked throughout the community, and gave presentations at professional sociology and criminology conferences. Throughout this process, students confronted numerous theoretical, political, ethical, and practical issues.

According to Polkinghorne (1988, p. 36), "narrative is a form of 'meaning making.'" Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p. 4) discuss the use of narrative research in the following terms: "The central task is evident when it is grasped that people are both living their stories in words as they reflect upon life and explain themselves to others." This paper is a demonstration of "living the story." Participant observation and content analysis of written documents were combined to form this narrative. The author, as research director, shares her observations of undergraduate research projects at UWP. Using "remembered" narrative, this paper tells a "story of experience" about the university's role in gang prevention strategies in two small cities in southeastern Wisconsin.

The Setting

Between 1986 and 1988, UWP students conducted research projects in Racine and Kenosha, two cities located in the southeastern corner of Wisconsin, between the metropolitan centers of Milwaukee and Chicago. This proximity exposes the two smaller cities to many big-city problems.

Kenosha, known as the "Gateway to Wisconsin," is located just north of the Illinois border. Its present population is 80,375. According to the 1990 census, the vast majority of the population is white. African-Americans constitute 6.3 percent (5,070) of Kenosha's population, Hispanics are 5.7 percent (4,611) of the population, and other ethnic groups represent a small percentage of the total population. The auto industry is the focal point of Kenosha's economy. When

the local Chrysler Jeep/Eagle plant permanently closed in December 1988, more than 5,000 workers lost their jobs.

Racine is located just north of Kenosha along the shore of Lake Michigan. This city, with a present population of 84,298, is an important manufacturing community, making tractors and farm implements, wax products, and automobile equipment and accessories; casting metal; and producing lithographed materials and other products. In Racine, as in Kenosha, the majority of the population is white, with persons of Danish descent accounting for approximately one-third of this racial category. African-Americans number 15,592, or 18.5 percent of the population, while Hispanics are a growing minority, estimated to be 7.7 percent (6,484) of Racine's population.

Gangs in Racine

The Emergence of Gangs

During the early 1980s in Racine, a major regional shopping mall opened, displacing local businesses; factories were failing or moving out of the area; community agencies, schools, and government were experiencing budgetary cutbacks; and unemployment was at a high point. To put it simply, things were getting tougher. Symptoms of gang activity began to be observed (e.g., drugs, group fights, and an increasing school dropout rate). Initially, some members of the local police department and others were skeptical about the existence of gangs in Racine. The local police department officially acknowledged the presence of youth gangs in 1980 when gang graffiti first appeared.

One significant reaction to the rise of youth crime and the activity of gangs was expressed by the citizens of Georgetown, many of whom objected to seeing teenagers loitering in their neighborhood. Georgetown is a "transitional neighborhood" of apartments and older homes. Because of its changing population, Georgetown lacked an organized political voice, and as a result no recreational parks and/or activities had been planned in this Racine neighborhood. As concerns intensified, Georgetown residents called upon city officials to respond to the gang situation. On February 22, 1984, Resolution 9376 called for the establishment of the Mayor's Task Force Commission on Gangs and Juvenile Delinquency.

The Racine Gang Project

In November 1985, I was asked by the chairman of the Task Force Commission on Gangs and Juvenile Delinquency to conduct an exploratory study of the local gang situation. The Racine Gang Project (RGP) began in January

1986 and ended in August 1986. Its objectives were to develop a comprehensive understanding of the gang situation in Racine and to provide program and policy recommendations for community agencies to address the problem of youth gangs more effectively.

Survey research, field observation, interviews, and content analysis of written documents were some of the research methods used in this study. More than 500 adults participated in the community survey, and another 500 students were surveyed in the local public middle and high schools.[1] (See Table 1.)

Table 1.

Does Racine Have a Gang Problem?

	Adults	Youth
Yes	416 (80.5%)	336 (73.4%)
No	29 (5.6%)	42 (9.2%)
Not sure	72 (13.9%)	80 (17.5%)

The community and youth surveys show overwhelmingly that residents perceive a gang problem in Racine. People who work with the community's youth agree that a gang problem exists. For example, an individual who works in juvenile corrections says that the gang situation in Racine is a serious one, noting, "Our crime rate is high considering our total population." Moreover, data from these surveys indicate that the problem is not perceived as a small one, but as an "average" to "large" problem. (See Table 2.)

Table 2.

How Much of a Problem Is It?

	Community (N=426)	Youth (N=362)
Large	139 (28.3%)	90 (20.6%)
Average	210 (42.7%)	207 (47.4%)
Small	77 (15.7%)	65 (14.9%)

[1] Although the survey was administrated to more than 1,000 individuals, not everyone responded to each question. For this reason, the number of responses presented for each table will differ.

But the problem is not merely one of perception. According to the middle and high school survey, 59 percent of the respondents have been in direct contact with a gang member. Indeed, 6.5 percent of the high school students and 5.2 percent of the middle school students surveyed said that they belonged to a gang. (See Table 3.0.) The respondents who replied that they were gang members were then asked why they had joined a gang. They provided the following range of answers: (1) have nothing else to do, (2) want to have more friends, (3) want people to look up to them, and (4) want to protect themselves from other gangs. At that time, estimates indicated 700 gang members in Racine, with an additional 500 youths expressing an interest in gangs.

Table 3.

Have You Had Direct Contact with a Gang?

Response to Survey Question

	Adults (N=534)	Youth (N=448)
Yes	126 (23.6%)	270 (60.3%)
No	348 (65.2%)	143 (31.9%)
Don't know	60 (11.2%)	35 (7.8%)

Teachers, counselors, police officers, community leaders, and gang members participated in structured interviews. These interviews provided some insights into the variety of perceptions on the gang question. For example, one school principal whose school is in the inner city did not believe that his school had a gang problem. However, at the same school a teacher described the gang situation as serious, listing the following gangs as being visible at his school: S.O.S. (Sons of Satan), Vice Lords, Latin Kings, and Black Gangster Disciples.

The Racine Community Collaboration Project

According to the Racine Gang Project's final report, Racine had a definite need for improved coordination among the social institutions that deal with the community's youth. UWP provided the bulk of the writing and technical assistance needed to develop a proposal to the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice for addressing the needs and problems of youth in Racine. The proposal was successful, and the City of Racine received $47,645 in funding. The City used these funds to establish the Racine Community Collaboration Project (RCCP). The RCCP, which ran from January 1, 1987, to June 30, 1988, sought to integrate efforts focusing on youth by community centers, schools, police, churches, and so forth. It enabled members of the collaboration project to participate in UWP workshops designed to build collaboration between social service agencies. It also allowed community members to meet on a regular basis and to share information across agencies.

The RCCP was divided into three components: (1) youth resources coordination, (2) youth employment opportunities, and (3) research and evaluation. The goals of the youth resources coordination office were to address more effectively the immediate needs of Racine's youth by improving the coordination of services and programs, to minimize the duplication and overlapping of services, and to improve efforts to use existing resources in the community. RCCP accomplished its short-term goals by employing several youths who worked at community centers and at UWP. The research and evaluation component focused on the effectiveness of the youth resources coordinator position to determine whether the position was effective and worthy of continued funding. In addition, the UWP students conducted a brief study of the local juvenile justice system and attempted to interview more self-identified gang members. This study provided important information concerning the development of alternative activities to gang involvement.

The Racine Youth Needs Assessment

Continued efforts suggested by the Racine Gang Project and the Racine Community Collaboration Project inspired a third project in Racine. UWP obtained a grant from a local private foundation to conduct a Racine Youth Needs Assessment (RYNA). The purpose of the RYNA was to develop a comprehensive evaluation of youth programs, organizations, and facilities. The research staff of the RYNA developed three evaluative instruments in order to examine Racine's youth programs: the agency director survey, the staff interview questionnaire, and the youth clientele survey. Eighty-five youth programs were identified, and 66 percent of these programs participated in the needs assessment study. The youth programs were divided into six areas: education and employment, health and welfare, counseling/referral, sports and cultural activities, community centers, and juvenile justice.

Some of the common themes that emerged from the Racine Youth Needs Assessment were that youth programs: (1) are competing for scarce resources, (2) experience a lack of interagency collaboration, (3) demonstrate limited vision in their approaches to obtaining funding, (4) take an intervention approach rather than a preventive approach, and (5) need new, creative, and imaginative innovations.

Gangs in Kenosha

Emergence of Gangs

In Kenosha, rivalries among groups of juveniles from different schools and neighborhoods had long existed, but authorities made no connection between the graffiti and the neighborhood youths congregating on the streets. From

time to time, individual youths or groups of youths committed minor delinquent acts. Police and juvenile authorities seemed satisfied to deal with these incidents as they occurred and generally were not alarmed by them.

However, beginning in late 1984, a series of events made authorities take notice. Starting with the new academic year, school officials reported a dramatic increase in ordinary discipline problems. Many of the students involved in these incidents wore clothing, made hand signals, and displayed insignia identical to those used by Chicago gang members.

Meanwhile, Kenosha police recorded a 25 percent increase in criminal and ordinance violations by juveniles during 1984; the rate had risen by no more than 9 percent annually during the previous four years (Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice, 1985). Although neither the police department nor the school district kept statistics on the percentage of problem youth who recently had moved to Kenosha from out of state, police and school officials expressed little doubt that those responsible were recent arrivals from the Chicago area.

The notion that Wisconsin's public assistance program had attracted "welfare immigrants" from Chicago and elsewhere emerged as a key element in the official perception of gangs in Kenosha. Many perceived a "welfare migration" from Chicago to Kenosha because welfare benefits are about 30 percent higher in Wisconsin than in Illinois. Of the 684 former Illinois families receiving AFDC payments in 1984, half had moved to Wisconsin within six months of the date when they had applied for such assistance (Kennedy, 1985). However, research by the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin-Madison found little support for the hypothesis that Wisconsin's higher benefit payments were acting as a magnet (Stumbras, 1985).

The first official recognition of a gang presence in Kenosha occurred during a Kenosha County Public Welfare Board meeting on June 5, 1985. The director of the Kenosha County Department of Social Services was quoted in the local press as saying that "an influx of Chicagoans into Kenosha has encouraged gang growth" ("Does City Have Gang Problems?," 1985). Other city officials, including the public school superintendent and police chief, agreed with the report. A month and a half later, the police department formally announced that it had established a gang crimes unit to curb the influence of street gangs in the city ("Joint effort urged," 1985). Within three months, the Kenosha police gang squad had handled 93 gang-related cases.

For the remainder of 1985 and throughout 1986, the news media continued to publicize Kenosha's gang problem. Repeatedly, the message was communicated that neighborhood street gangs were on the rise in Kenosha and that the children of former Illinois residents were to blame. Eventually, the notion that Chicago

street gangs had branched into Kenosha was firmly planted in the public consciousness. The mayor responded by creating a task force to study the city's gang problem rather than supporting the police chief's budget request for more officers. The Kenosha gang task force was instructed to find the causes of the gang problem in Kenosha and to recommend policies for its abatement.

The Kenosha Gang Project

In August 1986, UWP students took the initiative by approaching the mayor of Kenosha with an offer to study the gang situation. By December 1986, the task force had commissioned UWP to conduct a local gang study with $3,000 of city funds. The main components of this study were the tabulation and analysis of existing agency data from the Kenosha Police Department, the Kenosha County Department of Social Services, and the Kenosha Unified School District. The content analysis of these records provided members of the Task Force on Gangs with the documentation needed for their policy and program recommendations. Key individuals, such as task force members, community leaders, and juvenile justice personnel, participated in interviews in order to provide their perceptions of the gang situation. In addition, group interviews with self-identified gang members provided further data. The research team described and documented the phenomenon of gangs in Kenosha, identified the needs of youth, and determined constructive alternatives to gang involvement.

Agency Data

The quality of the data depends on accurate record keeping by the agency. Most of the records containing "don't know" and "missing data" occurred when the agencies did not know or did not record such information. The source of the data shows that the police department provided 62.3 percent of the case files for this study. (See Table 4.) Some of this data was compiled in conjunction with local schools and social service agencies. Only 8 percent of the existing files on street gangs in Kenosha overlap among the three agencies. Data derived from agency records may reflect more about agency policies and practices than about the gang problem itself. A careful analysis of agency data identified 530 gang members in Kenosha. The purpose of this analysis was to eliminate duplication, as much as possible, in counting gang members.[1] Of 530 gang members identified, 305 (57.5%) are adults, 203 (38.3%) are juveniles, and the remaining 22 (4.2%) are "false flaggers."[2]

---

[1] Data analysis indicated that approximately 56 gang members could have been counted twice (586-530=56).

[2] A false flagger is someone who claims to be a gang member but is not actually a member of a gang.

Table 4. Agency Data
Number of Gang Members in Kensoha

Police Department	275	(46.9%)
County Department of Social Services	148	(25.3%)
Unified School District	—	—
Police and Social Services	42	(7.2%)
Police and Schools	48	(8.2%)
Schools and Social Services	26	(4.4%)
Police, Schools, and Social Services	47	(8.0%)
Total	**586**	**(100.0%)**

Demographic Overview

Based on the agency data, 83.6 percent (490) of the gang members in Kenosha were identified as males, while 4.6 percent (27) were identified as females. The remaining 11.8% (69) could not be identified as male or female.

The largest concentration of gang members are between the ages of 17 and 19 (34%). Approximately 16.4 percent are 16 years old or younger.

African-Americans constitute 54.7 percent (321) of the total gang population, followed by Hispanics, representing 17.7 percent (104) of the gang population, and whites, who are 13.5 percent (79) of the gang population. The ethnicity of the remaining 14.1 percent could not be determined.

One hundred and twenty-six (23.7%) of the gang members were born in Kenosha, 101 (19.0%) were born outside of Wisconsin and Illinois, and 59 (11.1%) were born in Chicago. The majority of gang members, 54.3 percent, came from Wisconsin and Illinois, but from areas outside of Kenosha and Chicago.

Gangs have 232 (40.0%) regular members, 133 (22.9%) hard-core members, 84 (14.5%) marginal members, 36 (6.2%) false flaggers, 33 (5.7%) on the fringe, and 9 (1.6%) leaders. A marginal member is one who does not participate in *all* gang activities—participation is confined to nonviolent activities. An "on the fringe" member is someone who associates with gang members but does not participate in gang activity and is not viewed by gang members as being part of the gang. Most gang members belong to the Black Gangster Disciples (376 or 64.2%), followed by the Latin Kings (39 or 6.7%), the Vikings (36 or 6.2%), and the Vice Lords (25 or 4.3%). The remaining gang members belong to other gangs, such as the White Opals.

Three gang leaders are from Kenosha, four are from Illinois, and two are from outside of Wisconsin and Illinois. One gang leader is white and eight are African-American. Six of the gang leaders are under age 17, and three gang leaders are 18 years old or older.

Findings

Ninety-three percent of the juvenile gang members and 90 percent of the adult gang members have prior police records. The agency data reveal that eight (1.3%) persons in the sample had committed murder. The most frequent offenses committed overall were battery and burglary. The most frequently committed status offense was running away from home.

No gang leaders have been on juvenile probation. Of the marginal members, 39.1 percent have been on probation, followed by 25.2 percent of the regular members, 10.5 percent of the hard-core members, 3.2 percent of the fringe members, and 2.8 percent of the false flaggers. According to the agency data, 3.5 percent of the gang members in Kenosha have been in juvenile foster homes.

Interview Data

Interviews with task force members, juvenile justice personnel, and community leaders reveal that these individuals perceive the gang problem in Kenosha to be minimal and controllable, while others believe that the problem is escalating and can become potentially dangerous. According to interviews with individuals who do not belong to gangs, higher welfare benefits are attracting gang members and/or their families to Kenosha. This perception does not hold true, however, according to recent research. Family connections, safe environment, and other quality-of-life indicators were cited as reasons that individuals and families relocate to Wisconsin from nearby states (Stumbras, 1985; Takata & Baskin, 1988).

Kenosha gang members who were interviewed said that they joined gangs because: (1) they wanted to make money, (2) they had nothing else to do, and (3) they had family problems. Gang members also said that they needed more things to do in their community—more organized sports activities and events, more community centers, and more jobs. Gang members carry weapons (e.g., knives, pipes, and guns) for protection. Gang members indicate that they are using alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine, which are easily obtainable.

Researchers verified the existence of six gangs: Black Gangster Disciples, Latin Kings, Vikings, Vice Lords, Ku Klux Klan, and White Opals. Still, gang members said that "a lot of kids run around acting like gang members but they are not really in gangs."

According to gang members, Kenosha gangs are hierarchically structured but poorly organized compared to Chicago gangs. Indeed, by most accounts, Kenosha youth gangs are far from being cohesive entities. This characteristic of Kenosha gangs probably reflects their amorphous beginnings (Zevitz, 1993). The typical gang was formed spontaneously as an amalgamation of young neighborhood males—and, in at least one case, females—of about the same age.

The Kenosha Gang Project underscores the difference in official versus neighborhood youth perceptions of "the big-city gang connection" and its significance for youth gangs in this smaller sized community. Based on content analysis of newspaper articles and interview data, the findings strongly suggest that when the presence of gangs in Kenosha could no longer be denied, police, school, and other local officials used the convergence of a set of factors to impose on the community an interpretation of the gang situation consistent with their vested interests (Zatz, 1987). Local officials used Kenosha's proximity to Chicago to generate fear that Chicago street gangs were branching out across the Illinois-Wisconsin border. This perception enabled them to minimize and contain the potential damage to the image of their agencies and the city, which was threatened by the realization that Kenosha street gangs consisted of "home-grown" neighborhood youths.

The critical factors that converged in the public consciousness were: (1) the long-standing belief by local middle-class whites that a "welfare magnet" created by higher AFDC benefits in Wisconsin was drawing people from inner-city Chicago; (2) the impression that these welfare recipients where mostly African-American and Hispanic; (3) related misgivings over the rapid numerical growth of racial and ethnic minorities within Kenosha and the perceived social and economic impact of this growth on the "quality of life" in this small city; and (4) renewed concern over deteriorating labor market conditions within Kenosha and the surrounding communities, fueled by the disintegration of Kenosha's automobile manufacturing industry—the single largest employer in the area. Because the media adopted the official explanation for Kenosha's gang problems, an already marginal group of poor and minority youth in the community came to be defined as "problematic" and was blamed for many of the community's perceived problems (Zevitz & Takata, 1992, p. 104).

The inability of the traditional community institutions of socialization to reach these low-income adolescents left a void that gangs have filled. Rather than confirming this reality, it is more politically expedient to say, as one elected official said, "The children who have been born and raised in Kenosha basically are not involved in gangs. It's been an import."

As Zatz (1987, p. 131) points out, the social imagery connected with the notion of a gang is useful in "drawing attention to external factors beyond the

control" of local government officials. Blaming drug-dealing gang members from Chicago for a variety of social ills—increasing juvenile crime, drug abuse, school disciplinary problems, and rising welfare costs—is easier than seeking explanations and solutions within the context of the community itself.

Analysis

Prior research (Zatz, 1987) on youth gangs reveals that the label "gang member" is a social status that defines the way a community, including members of the legal system, perceives and deals with certain youth. The interview and survey data support this interactionist interpretation of the gang phenomenon. Gangs exist in both Racine and Kenosha, but in both communities adults and youth reveal very important differences in their perceptions of the threat, location, contact point, and characteristics of these gangs. Interviews with adults who work with the community's youth generally substantiate the perception that a gang problem exists, but the extent of the problem is very much at issue.

The data also illustrate that most youth perceive collective delinquent behavior as a "near group" occurrence—that is, less serious and less threatening than other, more organized criminal enterprises. In comparison, most adults view gang behavior as very serious and perceive the gang itself as a more formalized, "group-like" entity. Adults are more likely than youth to be influenced almost exclusively by the media (Takata, 1986). Consequently, adults are more easily persuaded by "official" assessments of youth gangs. On the other hand, youth may find it easier to recognize certain activities as gang-related because, unlike adults who identify the gang as a well-integrated and -maintained collection of delinquents, youth see the gang as an ephemeral group.

In general, youth have a much more amorphous perception of gang members than adults, whereas adults have a much clearer image—an image that tends to reflect stereotypical notions derived from "official" definitions. A youth who has contact with a gang does not encounter a well-integrated group—i.e., one that is sustained and integrated by group norms and stable membership. The relatively few youth who admitted being gang members defined themselves as "friends having nothing to do" or just "a bunch of people" who "do things together and look out for each other."

In essence, youth are *more* likely than adults to perceive the existence of gangs in Racine and Kenosha, but are *less* likely to perceive them as a problem. Youth perceptions seem closely related to Yablonsky's "near-group" analysis. In other words, on the level at which youth interact with other youth, street gangs in Racine and Kenosha are not "the highly organized, cohesive collection of individuals" seen by most adults, but a "near-group" assemblage of individuals characterized by "diffuse role definition," "limited cohesion," "impermanence,"

and "shifting membership" (1959, p. 109). These perceptions of youth gangs are quite different from the "official" perceptions of law enforcement, social workers, and the media, who tend to see a more integrated and formalized version of gang activity—a version that generally serves as the source of adult perceptions of gangs.

Conclusion

Kenosha and Racine are not isolated cases. Their experiences are being repeated in one regional community after another, where minority youth gangs are defined by and their existence attributed to metropolitan gang connections. Media sensationalism and gang squad development abound. Age-graded corner groups of African-American and Hispanic youths are being labeled and dealt with as gang members. The findings from undergraduate student research at UWP add to the growing body of literature (Moore, 1978; Zatz, 1985; Vigil, 1988; Hagedorn, 1988) that identifies wide variation in the way in which the gang phenomenon is interpreted. The literature suggests that this variation may be related to vested interests as well as the sources of information from which these interpretations derive.

In response to gangs, a collaborative approach between the university and the community is extremely effective in small cities and rural areas. Such action research is a labor-intensive learning and teaching process, but having community and university support at all levels helps tremendously. The benefits derived from this type of action research include the following:

- The research helped overcome community denial of a gang problem.
- The research educated the general public on the nature and scope of the local gang problem.
- The research provided community leaders with program and policy recommendations.
- The community gained access to university resources (e.g., students and faculty expertise).
- The final reports became important documents cited by local institutions and agencies seeking local, state, and federal funding to address the gang problem.
- These research projects strengthened community-university relations. The university became much more visible in the community by offering its student and faculty expertise.

- This type of hands-on undergraduate research work demonstrated role integration, which allowed the professor and her students to conduct research while providing an important service to the community.

- For the professor, these undergraduate student projects represented a very exhilarating and yet sometimes exhausting learning and teaching process that has an empowering effect on students (especially first-generation college students).

- Students gained an understanding of and appreciation for social scientific research. In addition, they learned such valuable skills as grantsmanship and computer applications. Such hands-on learning with *real* issues and *real* problems teaches countless invaluable lessons for students.

- Students made valuable contacts and developed extensive networks among community leaders, which sometimes have resulted in employment opportunities.

The university remains one of the most underused community resources in many small cities and rural areas. These four undergraduate research projects demonstrate that much work can be accomplished through a close working relationship between the university and the community. Thus, in an age of scarcity, such partnerships between the university and the community can provide a crucial resource to local jurisdictions.

References

Brudvig, S., Takata, S.R., & Nommensen, T. (1988). *The Racine youth needs assessment.* Kenosha, WI: University of Wisconsin-Parkside.

Bruner, J. (1966). *Toward a theory of instruction.* New York: Norton.

Burgess, E.W. (1916). Juvenile delinquency in a small city. *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, 6*(3), 724-728.

Cloward, R.A., & Ohlin, L.E. (1960). *Delinquency and opportunity: A theory of delinquent gangs.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Cohen, A.K. (1955). *Delinquent boys: The culture of the gang.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Conklin, J.E. (1975). *The impact of crime.* New York: Macmillan.

Connelly, F.M., & Clandinin, D.J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 2-14.

Curran, J. (1977). *The social systems research center.* Unpublished manuscript.

Curran, J., & Telesky, C. (1975). *A student-operated research center: A new climate of learning.* Unpublished manuscript.

Denzin, N. (1970). *Sociological methods.* Chicago: Aldine.

Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and education.* New York: Macmillan.

Does city have gang problems? (1985, June 6). *Kenosha News,* p. 1.

Fuhrmann, V. (1992, May). Youth gangs hit the small time. *Governing,* pp. 28-29.

Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory.* Chicago: Aldine.

Hagedorn, J. (1988). *People and folks.* Chicago: Lakeview Press.

Huff, C.R. (1990). *Gangs in America.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Johnstone, J.W. (1983). Recruitment to a youth gang. *Youth and Society, 14,* 281-300.

Joint effort urged to combat gangs. (1985, July 26). *Kenosha News,* p. 1.

Kennedy, J. (1985). *The impact of Wisconsin's AFDC benefits levels on Kenosha County in-migration.* Kenosha, WI: Kenosha County Department of Social Services and Carthage College.

Klein, M.W. (1968). Impressions of juvenile gang members. *Adolescence, 3*(9), 53-78.

Klein, M.W. (1975). *Juvenile gangs in context.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Klein, M.W., & Maxson, C. (1987). Street gang violence. In M.E. Wolfgang & N. Weiner (Eds.), *Violent crime, violent criminals.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Krisberg, B.A. (1974). Gang youth and hustling: The psychology of survival. *Issues in Criminology, 9*(1), 115-129.

Lagey, J.C. (1957). The ecology of juvenile delinquency in the small city and rural hinterland. *Rural Sociology, 22,* 230-234.

Leonard, G. (1968). *Education and ecstasy.* New York: Dell.

Maxson, C. (1993). Investigating gang migration: Contextual issues for intervention. *The Gang Journal, 1,* 1-8.

Maxson, C., Klein, M.W., & Gordon, M.A. (1987). *Gangs in smaller cities.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL.

Miller, W.B. (1958). Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency. *Journal of Social Issues, 14*(3), 5-19.

Miller, W.B. (1980). Gangs, groups and serious youth crime. In D. Shichor & D.H. Kelly (Eds.), *Critical issues in juvenile delinquency.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Miller, W.B. (1981). *Crime by youth gangs and groups in the United States.* (Preliminary draft.) Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Moore, J.W. (1978). *Homeboys: Gangs, drugs and prison in the barrios of Los Angeles.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Myerhoff, H.L., & Myerhoff, B.G. (1964). Field observations of middle class "gangs." *Social Forces, 42,* 328-336.

Polkinghorne, D.E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences.* Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Rivera, R.J., Green, L., & Seng, M. (1973). *Juvenile delinquency in Illinois.* Chicago: Institute for Juvenile Research.

Rosenbaum, D.P., & Grant, J.A. (1983). *Gangs and youth problems in Evanston: Research findings and policy options.* Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University.

Schutt, R., Blalock, H., Jr., & Wagenaar, T. (1984). Goals and means for research methods courses. *Teaching Sociology, 11,* 235-258.

Shaw, C., & McKay, H.D. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency in urban areas.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Short, J.F., & Strodtbeck, F.L. (1965). *Group process and gang delinquency.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spergel, I.A. (1984). Violent gangs in Chicago: In search of social policy. *Social Science Review, 58,* 199-225.

Stumbras, B. (1985). *Migration as an issue in the Wisconsin AFDC program.* Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin.

Takata, S.R. (1986). *The Racine gang project: Preliminary report.* Racine, WI: Task Force Commission on Gangs and Juvenile Delinquency.

Takata, S.R. (1988). *The Racine community collaboration project: Final report.* Kenosha, WI: University of Wisconsin-Parkside.

Takata, S.R. (1991a). The importance of integrating research experiences in today's criminal justice curriculum. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 14*(1), 77-98.

Takata, S.R. (1991b). Who is empowering whom? The social construction of empowerment. In C. Sleeter (Ed.), *Empowerment through multicultural education.* Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Takata, S.R., & Baskin, S. (1988). *The Kenosha gang project: Preliminary report.* Kenosha, WI: Task Force on Gangs.

Takata, S.R., & Leiting, W. (1987). Learning by doing: The teaching of sociological research methods. *Teaching Sociology, 15,* 144-150.

Takata, S.R., & Tyler, C. (in press). A community-university based approach to gang intervention and delinquency prevention: Racine's innovative model for small cities. *The Gang Journal.*

Takata, S.R., & Zevitz, R.G. (1987). Youth gangs in Racine: An examination of community perceptions. *Wisconsin Sociologist, 24*(4), 142-151.

Takata, S.R., & Zevitz, R.G. (1990). Divergent perceptions of group delinquency in a Midwestern community: Racine's gang problem. *Youth and Society, 21*, 282-305.

Thrasher, F.M. (1927). *The gang.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1992). *Census of population and housing. General social and economic characteristics: Wisconsin.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Vigil, J.D. (1988). *Barrio gangs.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Webb, E.J., Campbell, D.T., Schwartz, R.D., & Sechrest, L. (1966). *Unobtrusive measures: Nonreactive research in the social sciences.* Chicago: Rand McNally.

Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice. (1985). *Crime and arrests 1985.* Madison, WI: Author.

Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice. (1989). *Crime and arrests.* Madison, WI: Author.

Yablonsky, L. (1959). The delinquent gang as a near-group. *Social Problems, 7*, 108-117.

Yablonsky, L. (1966). *The violent gang.* New York: Macmillan.

Zatz, M.S. (1985). Los cholos: Legal processing of Chicano gang members. *Social Problems, 33*, 13-30.

Zatz, M.S. (1987). Chicano youth gangs and crime: The creation of a moral panic. *Contemporary Crisis, 2*, 129-158.

Zevitz, R. (1993). Youth gangs in a small Midwestern city: Insiders' perspectives. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 16*(1), 149-165.

Zevitz, R., & Takata, S.R. (1992). Metropolitan gang influence and the emergence of group delinquency in a regional community. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 20*, 93-106.

The Context of Rising Rates of Rural Violence and Substance Abuse: The Problems and Potential of Rural Communities

Daryl Hobbs, Director
Office of Social & Economic Data Analysis
University of Missouri System, Lincoln University
Columbia, Missouri

In a recent national poll commissioned by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association (NRECA) and conducted by the Roper Organization (NRECA, 1992) rural people described the five greatest threats to the future of rural America as alcohol abuse, an increase in crime, increased use of illegal drugs, loss of family farms, and lack of jobs. The significance of these responses lies not in whether they are valid, but in the fact that nearly 50 percent of rural residents *believe* that they are threats. Since W.I. Thomas, sociologists have been taught that if something is perceived to be real it produces real consequences. If rural people believe that increasing crime and drug and alcohol abuse are serious threats, they will respond to these threats, if only by further dividing their communities into "good people" and "those people." Such social divisions can lead to a diminished sense of community and may impede a community's ability to evoke cooperation in achieving common goals.

It would have been useful if the survey had asked respondents what—or who—they blame for these threats and what they think should be done about them. Do they blame the substance abusers and criminals? Do they blame the abusers' families? Or the national media? Or do they look to the social and economic environment in which the behavior occurs for an explanation? What rural residents perceive as the "causes" of these problems will affect what, if any, actions they believe will mediate them. If residents blame the individuals who engage in the behavior, they likely will devalue these individuals in the local social environment and look to specialized therapists and programs to restore them to acceptable behavior. On the other hand, if respondents consider the causes to lie outside the community, they likely will do nothing—a typical response in many contemporary rural communities. Several recent analyses (e.g., Bellah et al., 1986; Padfield, 1980) of rural communities have referred to a growing sense of "powerlessness" as more forces that affect rural community life are perceived to lie beyond local control. For example, most rural residents think they can do little about the loss of family farms or increased criminal activity and substance abuse.

Even if rural residents' perceptions of increased rural drug and alcohol abuse and criminal activity are valid (we will visit that question below), this paper will not single out who or what is to blame. It is more likely that the problems have no single cause. However, it is reasonable to speculate that recent social and economic changes could be a contributing factor. Assuming this belief to be true, this paper will argue that rural residents can take actions to improve their quality of life and, in doing so, diminish the perceived threats at the local level.

The Local Context for Violence and/or Substance Abuse

The incidence of crime and substance abuse is distributed unevenly across social and geographic lines. Although the growing incidence of these behaviors is widely viewed as a national problem, each act takes place in a particular local context. Crime and substance abuse rates are much higher in some neighborhoods than others. For instance, rates are higher in inner cities than in suburbs. But in rural areas, rates vary greatly between localities, even within the same state and region.

Reasons for this local variation are many and complex; income and everything associated with it, including housing, quality of schools, family organization, etc., are certainly factors. But apart from income, crime and/or substance abuse are more tolerated in some neighborhoods or communities than others. Some communities have a strong normative structure and mechanisms of social control; others have lost this structure, if they ever had it. Some communities are well organized and capable of community action that is aimed at greater self-determination; others simply are acted on by external social and economic forces. Generalizations about rural areas (other than small size of towns and low population density) end with one visit to a particular rural place. Each rural community contributes to a rural average, but none is likely to be "typically" rural.

Because of the socioeconomic, demographic, and cultural variations among rural communities, local prevention efforts—as part of the overall community improvement effort—will vary as well. As the recent study, *Healthy Communities; Healthy Youth* (Blyth, undated), has documented, otherwise similar communities vary greatly in the "health" of their social environments, which is related to the proportion of "at-risk" youth in the community. Therefore, if they choose, communities can make themselves "healthier" by reducing their number of at-risk youth.

Changes in Rural Communities

As a result of the many changes in rural communities, researchers have documented increasing levels of personal and family stress in rural areas, especially among younger families (e.g., Bellah et al., 1986; Gallaher, 1980; Schmuck & Schmuck, 1992). In addition, residents' social and economic ties to their communities have been weakened as rural America increasingly has become incorporated into a mass society. Both conditions could reasonably be associated with increasing levels of substance abuse and violence in rural areas.

In recent years, sources of economic stress have been pervasive in rural America. The following examples show how vulnerable rural Americans have become to economic change:

- A depression in the mid-1980s attracted national attention as many farms were foreclosed on and families were forced out of farming. The decline in income from farming and loss of family farms also resulted in the closing of many farm-related businesses. The Midwest was hit hardest by this depression and has not yet recovered.

- A "typical" farm in many parts of America is a part-time farm; the operator and family depend primarily on non farm sources of income. Farming has become a "moonlighting" activity for many.

- The energy boom in oil and coal mining of the 1970s turned into an energy bust in the 1980s, costing many higher paying rural jobs and causing depressed economic conditions in the affected areas.

- Some factories that moved to rural areas—especially to the Southeast—in the 1960s to take advantage of lower wages are closing and relocating to other countries, leaving the communities they supported in a state of economic distress.

- The jobs lost to rural America during the 1980s (e.g., farm machinery manufacturing, construction, telephone communications) paid more than twice as much as the jobs that were gained (e.g., work in restaurants and bars, nursing and personal care jobs, retail trade). Many of the new jobs are part-time and do not provide health insurance and other benefits. Families that lost a high-paying job typically added a second or third low-paying job in an effort to retain income. By 1990, more than 75 percent of rural Midwestern mothers were employed outside the home (Porterfield, 1990).

- In recent population gains, the most "successful" rural counties are those that attract retirees from urban areas and those that have recreational attractions. However, this type of population growth generates only low-paying, service-sector employment.

- Because of the lack of jobs in small, rural towns, many residents commute to work in larger towns outside their home counties. In 1990, more than 25 percent of workers commuted to work outside their home counties in 50 percent of Midwestern rural counties and in 67 percent of Southeastern rural counties (Hobbs, 1994).

- More than 25 percent of rural children live below the poverty level in 37 percent of America's rural counties. National data show that the majority of rural poor families are "working" poor (i.e., the family holds one or more jobs yet has below-poverty-level income) (Hobbs, 1994).

What emerges from these and many other examples is a profile of young, rural families that hold two or more jobs—jobs that pay little more than minimum wage and often are located 20 or more miles from home. It is also likely that their jobs provide neither health insurance nor other benefits. The economic marginality of such families can easily translate into personal and interpersonal stress. Further, the effort these families expend to earn a living leaves little time for community, school, and social activities.

Economic and technological changes have not spared the social integrity of many rural communities. At the turn of the century, many small towns provided for the needs of a great number of surrounding farmers. The distance between farms and towns was dictated by the transportation technology of the day. Because farmers relied on the closest small town for their needs, their social interaction with residents was frequent, intense, and limited to a small number of people. Schools, government, and health care were locally controlled as was the behavior of residents. The rural towns were not idyllic, but their social norms and behavior were regulated by the "little tradition" of each community (Gallaher & Padfield, 1980).

Although most of these small towns remain, they have lost many of their economic and service functions as well as a substantial part of their influence on the interaction and behavior of residents. As a result of improvements in transportation, declining numbers of farmers, the influence of a mass society, and the industrial principles of specialization, centralization, and economies of scale, many small-town businesses and services have relocated to larger towns and small cities. Rural people regularly travel to these regional centers for employment, shopping, health care, entertainment, and more—all of which takes time, loyalty, and identity away from the small towns and villages where

they live. While rural residents have a functional relationship with the larger towns, these "service communities" do not boast the same degree of social integration as the small towns of an earlier era. In this respect, rural people differ little from urban people; they are just as likely to buy things and obtain services from strangers. These changes have weakened community ties for all rural residents, including youth.

The institutions of a mass society also have claimed some of the social integration of yesterday's rural communities. Not only have regional shopping malls and franchise businesses replaced local general stores, but rural schools and other rural institutions increasingly have become patterned after those found in suburbs. Rural schools have been consolidated into smaller versions of suburban schools, complete with standardized curricula. These curricula socialize students into a national society, not a local one. Yet, schools should not be forced to give up one type of curriculum for another; both are desirable. It is difficult to learn citizenship without the opportunity to be a citizen.

The reach and effectiveness of mass media also compete for the attention of rural residents. As a result, rural people's increasing awareness of national and international events frequently comes at the expense of awareness of local events.

The long-term effects of out-migration also are having an effect on social integration in some rural areas. Because of an absence of high-skill, high-pay jobs in most rural communities, the more highly educated young people tend to leave in search of employment. Consequently, many rural communities have a disproportionately large population of retirement-age people. This inequity often creates a cultural gap between younger and older residents within the same community. Some observers have described a mutual antagonism between the young and the old, even within relatively small communities (Brendtro et at., 1990; Peshkin, 1982). The continued out-migration of more highly educated young adults also reduces the pool of younger and potentially more energetic and creative community leadership.

One consequence of these changes is a decrease in the social influence and problem-solving capacity of rural communities. Unless small-town residents work to make their towns socially active and relevant, they may find themselves living in a town without being a part of a community. A community is more than a place; it involves self-conscious participation with others in cooperative behavior of mutual interest.

Steps to Solve Problems and Build a Sense of Community

"Community" is not something that can be taken for granted, any more than "family" or any other form of social organization can be. All require determination and effort to establish and sustain them. I have argued that community is important, that ideally its members are capable of action and that those actions affect the quality of life and well-being of the members. A community is built when members work together.

It also is reasonable to conclude that the relative strength of a community's social integration affects the prevalence of socially desirable/undesirable behavior in its residents. That point of view considers a community to be more than the sum of its parts. Thus, creating or restoring a sense of community is one strategy for empowering those who lack, or have lost, a capacity to affect their own well-being. While I can offer no prescription for building healthy communities, I can suggest some actions that can be taken.

Make a Local Assessment

A measure of a community's health, strength, or capacity is its ability to identify a problem and organize itself to solve the problem. But the first step is to determine whether or not the community has a *local* problem.

If residents believe that their community has a problem with increased crime and substance abuse, their first step should be to determine whether or not their impressions can be substantiated or not. This paper began with the results of a survey that showed that rural Americans believe that increasing alcohol abuse, crime, and use of illegal drugs are among the greatest threats to the future of rural America. However, it is not clear whether the respondents' frame of reference was their own backyard or rural America in general. Given the amount of national media attention to these issues, it is possible that rural people may assume that increases are occurring in their communities, too. After helping rural communities to conduct communitywide surveys over several years, I have found that community leaders often perceive a problem that survey results fail to document. Just as frequently, these survey results have uncovered problems that community leaders did not perceive. Even in small towns, community leaders may not have much contact with a true cross-section of the community and, therefore, are unaware of all views and attitudes.

Community actions should be based on the particular needs and resources of a community. To gather such information about the community, residents can conduct school and/or community surveys and they can analyze public arrest records and other sources of information about the community. When assessing community needs, residents can take advantage of outside resources,

such as local colleges or university extension services and regional drug and alcohol program specialists.

Translating a Problem Into a Goal

Any attempt to determine whether a community has local violence or substance abuse problems should include an evaluation of what factors may be contributing to these behaviors. If it is found that such behaviors have increased recently, residents should look for changes in the community. Are younger families experiencing increasing levels of social and economic stress? Do young people have the same access to recreation and other constructive activities? Solving a problem obviously begins with identifying the *right* problem. Rural communities must ask themselves if increased substance abuse is the problem or merely a symptom. If it is a symptom, what is the cause? Addressing symptoms rather than causes is unlikely to ameliorate the problem. Again, generalizations from other places are not likely to be as useful as an analysis conducted within the community, because rural communities differ not only in their levels of substance abuse and/or violence but also in their social and economic circumstances.

Residents can make reducing or eliminating violence or drug and alcohol abuse a community goal, just as they could building a new fire station or a swimming pool. But to make progress toward that goal, they must devote their efforts to the *causes* of the problem, not to its symptoms. Residents must have a realistic expectation that changes in behavior, more education, cooperative projects, and so on, will make a difference. Yet, many rural communities have experienced a growing fatalism; they believe that they are victims of inexorable, outside forces that have sealed their fate. Hope must replace fatalism, but it must be hope based on realistic prospects for success.

Mobilization of Resources

As rural America has been incorporated into a mass society, rural communities have turned increasingly to specialized programs and outside "experts" to solve their problems. These resources may be helpful and should be used when appropriate and needed. But communities are built on the effective use of their own resources. The most significant of these resources are human: the skills, abilities, and energies of community residents. However, a majority of rural women now work outside the home and many small-town residents have jobs in larger towns. These and many other factors have reduced the amount of time working-age people have to devote to community activities. Yet, the loss of these residents as a community resource has created an opportunity for other residents who usually have not been as involved. For example, a community's youth, with their talent and energy, are a widely overlooked and underused resource.

Recently, some analysts have called attention to a "crisis of unimportance" affecting many of today's youth (Brendtro et al., 1990). The analysts claim that society sends a message to our youth that they are needed and valued more as consumers than as producers and citizens. Thus, it is not surprising that many young people remain in a state of extended adolescence, with little stake in the community or society outside of school. Students who have no plans for a postsecondary education often see little relationship between what is taught in school and what they experience outside of school. Furthermore, they see little reason to remain in school because their towns offer few prospects for higher paying and more interesting employment. These circumstances leave rural youth ripe for substance abuse and petty crime.

Recognizing the lack of connection between school and the real world—especially for "at-risk" students—more educational leaders are calling for experience-based education in which students "learn how to learn." Rural areas provide rich opportunities for such an education. For instance, students can help with studies, analyses, projects, and other "real" community work. High school students are an obvious resource to determine the extent of local substance abuse and violence, and they can help to develop and implement plans and projects to ameliorate these problems, if they are found to exist. Students can undertake community work as a part of both their formal education and their education as community citizens. They can learn economics by studying the local economy to see how it connects with the world outside their town. They can improve their writing skills by writing research and topical papers on different aspects of local life. They can learn to do research and use information sources by reconstructing local history. The possibilities are endless.

Research shows that these approaches are educationally effective and that they make a contribution to the community (Hobbs, 1991). An added benefit is that such work can help students to become stakeholders in the community. Students who do community work gain a sense of fulfillment and gratification. That feeling of gratification is an important source of motivation for future involvement. Students' self-esteem can be expected to increase in direct proportion to their accomplishments. As one author suggests, "You can't learn values without the opportunity to be of value" (Brendtro et al., 1990).

A growing body of research is concerned with the characteristics of "effective" rural communities. The research shows that effective communities not only better utilize their own resources but they are able to identify and utilize specialized, outside resources. According to this research, the most effective rural leaders are those who are involved with networks beyond their communities.

Collaboration

As rural institutions have been incorporated into the mass society, they have become more specialized and separate, even within the same community. Every institution, school, health care organization and government agency, tends to "do its own thing." This pattern of separation is inimical to the idea of community. Ideally, a community is inclusive rather than exclusive and is based on integration and cooperation rather than separation. Effective communities are able to broaden their base of participation and achieve collaboration among their institutions and resources.

Collaboration is essential to solving problems such as increased substance abuse and violence because those problems do not fall within the exclusive domain of any institution or agency. Instead, the problems have educational, economic, health, justice, family, legal, and social implications. A solution created by any one of those institutional sectors will have only limited effectiveness. The keys both to ameliorating the substance abuse problem and to rebuilding and sustaining a community are collaboration and cooperation. Everyone must work together effectively to achieve a common goal.

References

Bellah, R.N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W.M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S.M. (1986). *Habits of the heart.* New York: Harper and Row.

Blyth, D. (No date). *Healthy communities, healthy youth.* Minneapolis, MN: Lutheran Brotherhood.

Brendtro, L.K., Brokenleg, M., & Van Backim, S. (1990). *Reclaiming youth at risk: Our hope for the future.* Bloomington, IN: National Education Service.

Gallaher, A. (1980). Dependence on external authority and the decline of community: Chapter 4. In A. Gallaher and H. Padfield (Eds.), *The dying community* (pp. 85-108). Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Gallaher, A. & Padfield, H. (1980). Theory of the dying community: Chapter 1. In A. Gallaher and H. Padfield (Eds.), *The dying community* (pp. 1-22). Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Hobbs, D. (1994, April). Demographic trends in nonmetropolitan America. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Hobbs, D. (1991, January). School-based community development: Making connections in learning. In *Proceedings of the Role of Education in Rural Community Development Conference* (pp. 17-30). Mississippi State, MS: Southern Rural Development Center.

National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. (1992, June). *Public attitudes toward rural America and rural electric cooperatives.* Washington, DC: Author.

Padfield, H. (1980). The expendable rural community and denial of powerlessness: Chapter 7. In A. Gallaher and H. Padfield (Eds.), *The dying community* (pp. 159-185). Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Peshkin, A. (1982). *The imperfect union: School consolidation and community conflict.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Porterfield, S. (1990, June-September). Service sector offers more jobs, lower pay. *Rural Development Perspectives*, pp 2-7. Washington, DC: USDA Economic Research Service.

Schmuck, R. & Schmuck, P.A. (1992). *Small district, big problems.* Newbury Park, CA: Corwin Press, Inc.

Appendix

School Safety: An Annotated Bibliography

Title	Aggression and cooperation: Helping young children develop constructive strategies
Variant Title	
Series	ERIC Digest
Author	Jewett, J.
Publication Year	1992
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, school psychologists, parents, community organizations
Media	brochure
Specifications	one page, both sides
Descriptors	aggression, strategies, early childhood, preschool, elementary, conflict resolution, family, parent involvement
Abstract	Aggression and cooperation are two possible strategies for dealing with the normal conflicts of early peer interactions. Both have important roots in early family interactions, both are responsive to adult expectations and values, and both can be responsive to environmental factors. (ERIC)
Publisher	ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education, University of Illinois, 805 West Pennsylvania Avenue, Urbana, IL, 61801, (217) 333-1386.
Reprint	Documents can also be ordered through EDRS : (800) 443-ERIC
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Anti-social behavior in school
Variant Title	Children on the edge
Series	Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Problems, 2(1), p. 20-24.
Author	Walker, H.M.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school personnel, school administrators
Media	journal article
Specifications	5 pages
Descriptors	prevention, aggression, school climate, high school, strategies, negotiation
Abstract	The public school system has experienced a dramatic rise in anti-social and aggressive behavior patterns among its student population in the past quarter-century, and especially within the last decade. This article highlights current understanding of causal influences, behavioral characteristics, long-term development outcomes, and promising interventions with these children and youth. (NES)
Publisher	National Educational Service, P.O. Box 8, Bloomington, IN 47402
Reprint Source Notes	
Cost	Annual subscriptions are $35 for individuals, $70 for libraries and institutions

Title	Communitywide responses crucial for dealing with youth gangs
Variant Title	
Series	OJJDP Juvenile Justice Bulletin
Author	Bryant, D.
Publication Year	September 1989
Target Audience	law enforcement, community organizations, parents, urban, policymakers, school administrators, school personnel, correctional facility, public officials
Media	journal article
Specifications	6 pages
Descriptors	gangs, violence, strategies, ATOD use, linkage, school climate, prevention
Abstract	The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) held a national conference to give policymakers from 19 cities an opportunity to learn about the extent of gang violence and the steps necessary to develop communitywide responses. These responses must consist of a coordinated, team strategy that includes the support of the entire community -- schools, law, enforcement, courts, corrections, and community service agencies. (OJJDP)
Publisher	U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20531
Reprint	OJJDP Clearinghouse, NCJ 119465
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	A comprehensive strategy for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders
Variant Title	
Series	
Author	Wilson, J.J., Howell, J.C.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	law enforcement, community organizations, family, local government agencies, policymakers, public officials, school administration
Media	book
Specifications	29 pages
Descriptors	strategies, crime, violence, delinquent, youth, injury, gangs, weapons, school climate, family, female, prevalence
Abstract	A review was conducted to develop a clearer understanding of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile delinquency issues, trends, and effective delinquency prevention, treatment, and control approaches. Information from this review used to develop the strategy described. The program background, rationale, principles, and components are set forth in this strategy paper. (OJJDP)
Publisher	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice
Reprint	Call the Drug Information & Strategy Clearinghouse at 1-800-245-2691
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Dying is no accident
Variant Title	adolescents, violence, and intentional injury
Series	The Pediatrics Clinics of North America, 35 (6), p. 1339 - 1347
Author	Spivak, H., Prothrow-Stith, D., Hausman, A.J.
Publication Year	1988
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, community organizations, health organizations, law enforcement, social workers, school psychologists
Media	journal article
Specifications	9 pages
Descriptors	violence, adolescents, injury, morbidity, homicide, prevalence, cultural diversity, strategies, intervention
Abstract	This article describes the epidemiology and characteristics of violence and intentional injury among adolescents and discusses the various ways in which clinicians and the public health community can help to reduce the extent of this problem. (The Pediatrics Clinics of North America)
Publisher	
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Experts review research on school law and discipline
Variant Title	Law/Legislation
Series	School Safety Update, December, p. 6.
Author	
Publication Year	1991
Target Audience	policymakers, law enforcement, school administrators, school personnel
Media	journal article
Specifications	1 page
Descriptors	policy, discipline, school safety, strategies
Abstract	Key policymakers met to review research done on school discipline. The research suggested three hypotheses that are discussed in this article. (NSSC/NCREL)
Publisher	National School Safety Center, 4165 Thousand Oaks Blvd., Suite 290, Westlake Village, CA 91362, (805) 373-9977.
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Handbook on gangs in schools
Variant Title	Strategies to reduce gang-related activities
Series	
Author	Lal, S.R.; Lal, D.; Achilles, C.M.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, school psychologists, social workers
Media	book
Specifications	76 pages
Descriptors	gangs, school safety, strategies, school climate, policy, ATOD use
Abstract	This handbook is intended to alert educators to the phenomenon of gangs in schools; to express a point of view about this situation; to share some practical and conceptual knowledge and ideas regarding gangs in schools; to suggest some strategies for minimizing, and for coping with, gang problems in schools; and to identify how educators can learn more about gangs. (Corwin Press)
Publisher	Corwin Press, Inc., 2455 Teller Road, Newbury Park, CA 91320
Reprint Source Notes	
Cost	Contact: National Professional Resources, Inc., 25 South Regent Street, Port Chester, NY 10573, (800) 453-7461.

Title	Helping teens stop violence
Variant Title	A practical guide for counselors, educators, and parents
Series	
Author	Creighton, A., Kivel, P.
Publication Year	1992
Target Audience	social workers, school psychologists, parents, school administrators, school personnel
Media	book
Specifications	156 pages
Descriptors	violence, prevention, strategies, cultural sensitivity, cultural competence, youth development, interpersonal skills, skill building, bias-related violence, youth, adolescents, child abuse, parent involvement, counseling
Abstract	This book contains the two-day, 50-minute class curriculum on family and relationship violence prevention designed by the Battered Women's Alternatives Teen Program. It reflects the spirit of young people and adults who are learning to talk together in order to face, resist, and stop the violence. The book also gathers reporting policies, tests, written exercises, permission slips, and classroom tips that have been developed as the program progresses. (Hunter House)
Publisher	Hunter House, P.O. Box 2914, Alameda, CA 94501
Reprint Source Notes	
Cost	paperback, $11.95; spiral bound, $14.95

Title	The law and school searches
Variant Title	
Series	Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Problems, 1(1), p. 27-30.
Author	Boomer, L.W.
Publication Year	1992
Target Audience	law enforcement, school administrators, parents, community organizations
Media	journal article
Specifications	4 pages
Descriptors	strategies, school safety, policy
Abstract	This article examines the development and current status of the law regarding school searches, with particular attention to handicapped students. Drugs and violence in school have created a significant body of case law defining the conditions under which students may lawfully be searched and the rights to privacy that can be legitimately expected by students. (NES)
Publisher	National Educational Service, P.O. Box 8, Bloomington, IN 47402, (800) 722- 6876
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	Annual subscriptions $70 for individuals, $35 for libraries and institutions

Title	Multicultural conflict resolution team
Variant Title	Higher education column
Series	The Fourth R, (48)
Author	
Publication Year	1993-1994
Target Audience	institutes of higher education,
Media	journal article
Specifications	2 pages
Descriptors	conflict resolution, cultural sensitivity, negotiation, strategies, community, prevention, violence
Abstract	The Ombudsman Office at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst designed a Multicultural Conflict Resolution Team. The hope of this team is that it will provide culturally relevant interventions early in disputes and will increase communication on pressing issues for the campus community. (NAME)
Publisher	National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME), 205 Hampshire House, Box 3365, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003-3635, (413) 545-2462
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	National youth gang suppression and intervention program
Variant Title	
Series	OJJDP Juvenile Justice Bulletin
Author	Spergel, I.A.; Chance, R.L.; Curry, G. D.
Publication Year	1990
Target Audience	law enforcement, policymakers, social workers, school personnel, school administration, school psychologists
Media	journal article
Specifications	4 pages
Descriptors	gangs, prevention, violence, strategies, assessment, ATOD use, linkage, policy
Abstract	A research and development program to address the gang problem in policy and programmatic terms was developed through a cooperative agreement with the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. The National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program is carrying out a four-stage process of assessment, model program development, technical assistance, and dissemination. (OJJDP)
Publisher	U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20531
Reprint	OJJDP Clearinghouse, NCJ 130917
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	A new vision: Promoting youth development
Variant Title	
Series	
Author	Pittman, K.J., Cahill, M., Fleming, W.E.
Publication Year	1991
Target Audience	school adminstrators, school personnel, community organizations, parents
Media	book
Specifications	19 pages
Descriptors	youth development, strategies, youth, adolescents, prevention
Abstract	The most effective way to reduce tragedies in adolescence is to pursue the highest level of youth development possible. This goal can be accomplished only by developing a clear vision of positive youth development and devoting adequate resources and energy to achieving it. (CYDPR)
Publisher	The Center for Youth Development and Policy Research
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Planning principles for safe schools
Variant Title	
Series	School Safety, spring, p. 23-27.
Author	M. Furlong; R. Morrison; D. Clontz
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, state boards of education, policymakers, state agencies, school organizations
Media	journal article
Specifications	5 pages
Descriptors	school safety, school design, strategies, coalition building, evaluation, rural, urban
Abstract	This article identifies principles of school safety planning that would apply to all types of schools in rural to urban communities. Eight principles of comprehensive planning are recommended for safe, secure, and peaceful schools. (NSSC)
Publisher	National School Safety Center, Pepperdine University, Malibu, CA 90263
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	The prevention of youth violence
Variant Title	A framework for community action
Series	
Author	Fenley, M.A.; Gaiter, L.; Hammett, M.; Liburd, L.C.; Mercy, J.A.; O'Carroll, P.W.; Onwuachi-Saunders, C.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school adminstrators, school personnel, social workers, community organizations, state agencies, parents
Media	book
Specifications	97 pages
Descriptors	violence, prevention, strategies, community, mentor, social skills, parent involvement, peer education, conflict resolution, youth, weapons
Abstract	This manual includes a menu of specific activities for communities to undertake, plus a framework for putting those activities effectively into place. The manual is based on the principles of effective, community-based health promotion programs that have been successfully used to address a variety of chronic diseases as well as problems of youth, such as sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancy. (CDC)
Publisher	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Atlanta, GA, and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Rockville, MD
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Preventing aggression in young children
Variant Title	Handbook for teachers
Series	
Author	Slaby, R.G., Roedell, W.C., Hendrix, K., Arezzo, D.A.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, early childhood, preschool, social workers, school psychologists
Media	book
Specifications	1 page
Descriptors	aggression, prevention, violence, skill building, conflict resolution, social skills, adolescent, youth, early childhood, preschool, strategies
Abstract	The handbook gives teachers and caregivers who work with children 3 to 6 years of age the knowledge and practical strategies to manage, reduce, and help prevent aggressive behavior. It presents the research findings of effective classroom procedures for reducing children's aggressive behavior and for building children's skills in solving social problems constructively.
Publisher	Education Development Center, Newton, MA
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Reducing school violence
Variant Title	
Series	Hot topics: usable research
Author	Kadel, S., Follman, J.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school administration, school personnel, middle school, junior high school, high school, school psychologists
Media	book
Specifications	99 pages
Descriptors	school safety, conflict resolution, strategies, prevention, high school, junior high school, middle school
Abstract	The source is designed to help teachers, school principals, district administrators, resource officers, and others respond to and prevent school violence. It also provides strategies for helping students learn to solve conflicts and personal frustrations through nonviolent means. Many of the options discussed here are most appropriate for middle, junior high, and high schools where the problem of student violence is more prevalent. (SERVE)
Publisher	SouthEastern Regional Vision for Education (SERVE), P.O. Box 5367, Greensboro, NC 27435, (919) 334-3211
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	$7 each for 1-49 copies

Title	Reducing youth violence
Variant Title	Coordinated federal efforts and early intervention strategies could help
Series	GAO Testimony
Author	McDonald, G.J.
Publication Year	1992
Target Audience	policymakers
Media	information source
Specifications	14 pages
Descriptors	youth, violence, prevention, strategies, coalition building, family, community, delinquents, risk factors, prevalence
Abstract	This testimony was given before the Committee on Governmental Affairs of the United States Senate by Gregory J. McDonald, Director of Human Services, Policy and Management Issues, Human Resources Division, regarding youth violence prevention. (NCREL)
Publisher	United States General Accounting Office, Gaithersburg, MD
Reprint Source Notes	
Cost	The first copy of each GAO report and testimony is free. Additional copies are $2 each. Orders may be placed by calling (202) 275-6241.

Title	Safe, Disciplined, Drug-Free Schools
Variant Title	Goals 2000 Educate America
Series	
Author	
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, state boards of education, parents, community organizations
Media	information source
Specifications	19 pages
Descriptors	violence, prevention, school safety, school climate, strategies, policy
Abstract	This is a background paper for the Goals 2000: Educate America Satellite Town Meeting, July 20, 1993. The aim of this program is that by the year 2000, every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a safe, disciplined environment conducive to learning.
Publisher	
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Safe Schools Overview
Variant Title	NSSC Resource Paper
Series	
Author	Greenbaum, S., Turner, B., Eds.
Publication Year	1990
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, social workers, law enforcement, school psychologists
Media	book
Specifications	28 pages
Descriptors	school safety, prevention, violence, crime, discipline, ATOD use, linkage, gangs, prevalence, school attendance, dropout, strategies
Abstract	The article suggests that America's educational institutions today should address the serious concerns of suicide, child abuse, lack of discipline, crime, violence, and drugs in order to ensure safe and effective schools for the nation's elementary and secondary school students. Research indicates that schools with positive climates usually demonstrate continuous academic and social growth, trust, respect, high morale, change, and improvement. (NSSC)
Publisher	National School Safety Center, Pepperdine University, Malibu, CA 90263, (818) 377-6200
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	School violence: An alarming trend
Variant Title	
Series	The Fourth R, (28), p. 1.
Author	Coulter, E.
Publication Year	1989
Target Audience	school personnel, school administrators
Media	journal article
Specifications	1 page
Descriptors	school safety, violence, prevention, strategies, prevalence, gangs
Abstract	Prevention efforts that teach students skills in empathy, impulse control and anger management and that help to build self-esteem are critical at an early age. Bullying behavior needs to be confronted and changed long before it escalates into violent behavior. (NAME)
Publisher	National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME), 205 Hampshire House, Box 33635, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003, (413) 545-2462
Reprint	Reprinted with permission from the Fall 1989 issue of Prevention Notes, the quarterly publication of the Committee for Children.
Source Notes	Committe for Children, 172 - 20th Avenue, Seattle, WA 98122, (206) 322-5050.
Cost	

Title	Staying safe at school
Variant Title	
Series	
Author	Quarles, C. L.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, school psychologists, social workers
Media	book
Specifications	86 pages
Descriptors	school safety, violence, prevention, strategies, crime, conflict resolution, school climate, discipline, gangs, ATOD use, victim
Abstract	This book targets personal safety issues of importance to teachers. How to analyze school's security risk, proven methods for avoiding crime, what to suggest for improving school safety, how to avoid becoming a victim, and how to be a survivor are covered in this book. (Corwin Press)
Publisher	Corwin Press, Inc., 2455 Teller Road, Newbury Park, CA 91320
Reprint Source	
Notes	
Cost	Contact: National Professional Resources, Inc., 25 South Regent Street, Port Chester, NY 10573, (800) 453-7461

Title	Stop the violence in schools
Variant Title	
Series	Adolescence, September, p. 21-23, 25.
Author	Laird, M.
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel
Media	journal article
Specifications	4 pages
Descriptors	school safety, violence, strategies, prevalence, conflict resolution
Abstract	The key to preventing violence lies in shaping children's attitudes and behavior before violence becomes their automatic answer to resolving conflicts. A solid research base confirms that conflict resolution education does result in improved attitudes and behaviors. (Adolescence)
Publisher	A & D Publications Corporation, 3201 SW 15th Street, Deerfield Beach, FL 33442-8190, (800) 851-9100.
Reprint	Adolescence Magazine is copyrighted by A & D Publications, with all rights reserved. Permission must be granted by the publisher for any use.
Source Notes	
Cost	Subscription $12.00

Title	Teamwork...is the best policy
Variant Title	
Series	School Safety Update, spring, p. 12-14.
Author	Laney, R.
Publication Year	1991
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, law enforcement, community organizations
Media	journal article
Specifications	3 pages
Descriptors	school safety, policy, strategies, violence, gangs, child abuse, prevention, community, ATOD use, linkage, coalition building
Abstract	The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has developed a national training initiative called Gang and Drug POLICY. POLICY stands for Police, Prosecution, Probation Operations Leading to Improved Children and Youth Services. These programs include special interagency efforts to control habitual juvenile offenders and a series of seminars based on a community-oriented approach to dealing with troubled, problem, and delinquent youth. (OJJDP)
Publisher	National School Safety Center, 4165 Thousand Oaks Blvd., Suite 290, Westlake Village, CA 91362, (805) 373-9977
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Television violence: Effects and remedies
Variant Title	
Series	
Author	Slaby, R.G.
Publication Year	1992
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, school psychologists, parents
Media	testimony
Specifications	6 pages
Descriptors	television, violence, prevention, strategies, evaluation, aggression, adolescents, victim
Abstract	This testimony to the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Crime & Criminal Justice addresses these two questions: What does the research evidence tell us about the problems produced by television violence? and What Specific steps can we take toward solving these problems? (EDC)
Publisher	Education Development Center, Newton, MA, and Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Ten reasons for instituting a school-based mediation program
Variant Title	
Series	UPDATE on Law Related Education, (9), p. 27.
Author	Davis, A., Porter, K.
Publication Year	1985
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel
Media	brochure
Specifications	1 page
Descriptors	mediation, peer education, conflict resolution, strategies
Abstract	A review of program descriptions reveals that there are ten reasons most common to motivating those who wish to promote mediation in schools. (NAME)
Publisher	National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME), 205 Hampshire House, Box 33635, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003, (413) 545-2462
Reprint	Reprinted from UPDATE on Law Related Education
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Training teachers for troubled times
Variant Title	
Series	School Safety Update, fall, p. 20-21.
Author	Glenn, J.
Publication Year	1990
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, community organizations
Media	journal article
Specifications	2 pages
Descriptors	school safety, violence, strategies, conflict resolution, policy
Abstract	The article states that schools should provide a safe and secure environment for learning. By promoting safety, administrators can gain the support of the community and school staff. Their combined influence on students should result in a greater acceptance and understanding of school rules and discipline policy. The faculty and administration must support each other to promote a school climate that does not tolerate misbehavior. (NSSC)
Publisher	National School Safety Center, 4165 Thousand Oaks Blvd., Suite 290, Westlake Village, CA 91362, (805) 373-9977.
Reprint Source Notes	
Cost	Subscription, $12.00

Title	Violence & youth: Psychology's response
Variant Title	Volume I: Summary report of the American Psychological Association Commission on Violence and Youth
Series	
Author	American Psychological Association
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	school psychologists, social workers, school personnel, school administration, community organizations
Media	book
Specifications	96 pages
Descriptors	school safety, youth, cultural sensitivity, media, early childhood
Abstract	Laying the groundwork for preventing violence begins early in a child's development. Children learn fundamental ways of dealing with social conflict in their early years. Everyone who comes into contact with the child -- parents, educators, child care providers, health care providers -- has the potential to contribute to a child's attitudes toward violence and propensity toward violent behavior. (APA)
Publisher	American Psychological Association's Commission on Violence and Youth.
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	Violence prevention curriculum for adolescents
Variant Title	
Series	
Author	Prothrow-Stith, D.
Publication Year	1987
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, social workers, community organizations
Media	book
Specifications	110 pages
Descriptors	violence, prevention, strategies, curriculum, homicide, conflict resolution, aggression, negotiation, risk factors, victims
Abstract	The curriculum acknowledges anger as a normal and natural emotion, provides hard-hitting facts that alert students to their high risk of being either the victim or the perpetrator of an act of violence, creates a need in students to find alternatives to fighting by discussing the potential gains and losses, offers positive ways to deal with anger and arguments (the leading precipitator of homicide) and allows students to analyze the precursors of a fight. (EDC)
Publisher	Education Development Center, 55 Chapel Street, Suite 24, Newton, MA 02160
Reprint Source Notes	
Cost	Call Customer Service at EDC Publishing Center, Education Development Center, (800) 225-4276, or in Massachusetts, (617) 969-7100.

Title	Violent crime and drug abuse in rural areas: Issues, concerns, and programs
Variant Title	Results from innovative state and local workshops
Series	State Reporting and Evaluation Program
Author	Justice Research and Statistics Association
Publication Year	1993
Target Audience	criminal justice, law enforcement, correctional facilities, federal agencies, health organizations, rural, medical facilities, policymakers, social workers
Media	book
Specifications	78 pages
Descriptors	rural, violence, ATOD use, crime, prevalence, criminal justice, linkage
Abstract	There is little information on the extent of substance abuse and its relationship to crime in rural areas or on the effectiveness of programs that address the increasing levels of rural violent crime and drug abuse. This report relates the issues and problems discussed at a workshop, "Innovative Rural Programs Reporting and Evaluation Workshop," held in February 1993. It also discusses the characteristics of rural areas, the unique challenges faced by rural communities, and the programs that address rural violent crime and drug abuse.
Publisher	Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Education, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20531, (202) 616-3455
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	

Title	What we can do about gangs
Variant Title	
Series	Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Problems, (1)1, p. 34-37
Author	Cantrell, M. L.
Publication Year	1992
Target Audience	school administrators, school personnel, community organizations, parents, law enforcement, strategies
Media	journal article
Specifications	4 pages
Descriptors	strategies, school safety, violence, gangs, negotiation, conflict resolution, curriculum development
Abstract	This articles summarizes suggestions from a variety of sources, on what educators and schools can do about gangs. It explains how to relate to gang and community members, and action that can be taken. It also provides some resources. (NES)
Publisher	National Educational Service, P.O. Box 8, Bloomington, IN 47402, (800) 733-6786
Reprint	
Source Notes	
Cost	Annual subscriptions are $70 for individuals, and $30 for libraries and institutions.

North Central Regional Educational Laboratory

Midwest Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities

1900 Spring Road, Suite 300
Oak Brook, IL 60521-1480
(708) 571-4700
Fax (708) 571-4716